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Sallust,

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GAI SALVSTI CRISPI

DE CATILINAE CONIVRATIONE

THE

CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE

AS RELATED BY

SALLUST

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EDITED BY J. H. AND W. F. ALLEN AND J. B. GREENOUGH

BOSTON, U.S.A.:

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1889.



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NOTE.

THIS edition follows strictly the text of the fourth edition of DIETSCH, with a few slight changes to secure a consistent orthography. It is one of a series of classics prepared under the same joint editorship with the select Orations of Cicero, published in June, 1873.

CAMBRIDGE, January 1, 1874.

INTRODUCTION.

LUCIUS SERGIUS CATILINA was an old soldier and partisan of Sulla, a man of profligate character, broken fortunes, and headstrong ambition. About twelve years after Sulla's death, he formed a scheme to better his estate by political adventure. His confederates were, some of them, men of good family and high official standing; the larger number, probably, needy and reckless fortune-hunters. His plan was to get himself into power in the ordinary way of popular elections; then, by the spoils and chances of office, to secure his own predominance, and reward the service of his adherents. Probably his plans did not differ much from those of most political soldiers of fortune. They seem to have been ripened as early as B. C. 66. Two years later, he was defeated in a close race for the consulship by Cicero and Caius Antonius. Renewing his attempt at the next elections, he was again defeated, and, when driven from the city by the invective of Cicero, he raised the standard of open insurrection. His confederates in the city were seized and put to death, and in the following January, a month later, he was beaten in battle, and his armed force completely annihilated.

The Conspiracy of Catiline, so called, was the principal political event in Rome from the dictatorship of Sulla down to that of Julius Cæsar; and, in point of time, was almost exactly half way between the two. It was not — what the name generally means — a conspiracy to overthrow the existing government. It was a scheme, on the part of a few needy and desperate politicians, to get themselves elected

in regular form, and then to carry on the government to their own advantage. Apart from the character of the men who engaged in it, it does not seem to have been any more criminal in its origin or plans than any "ring" or cabal by which a personal interest seeks its ends through the forms of constitutional election. Only when, after three years' attempt, it was finally defeated at the polls, and appealed to armed insurrection, did it take the shape of treason. And even then it kept the formalities of civil and military authority, and rejected the help of slaves; claiming that its real object was to rid the state of an oppressive and selfish oligarchy. That its real aim was to destroy the state — which Cicero asserts — was, at any rate, so well disguised, that the party which succeeded in overcoming it fell into odium as enemies of the people, and found their own ruin in its defeat.

These circumstances have made the true character and aims of the conspiracy one of the riddles of Roman politics. Cicero, in a well-known passage (Cat. II.), ranges the conspirators in five "dangerous classes," of which the most respectable were men of large estates heavily mortgaged, whose debts made them ready to welcome any sort of change. But they, as he shows, could have no real interest in a revolution. And it may be safe, perhaps, along with many critics, to dismiss the stories of bloody rites, criminal oaths, and desperate designs of massacre and conflagration, as the tales of frightened fancy and political hate. But of the reckless and criminal character of its leaders, and the mischief they would have done if they had got into office, there seems no reason for doubt. As candidate, Cicero had beaten them fairly in a hard-fought battle at the polls. As consul, he had worked, actively and effectually, to block their further political game. When they were finally defeated, in the fall elections of his consular year, and lost heart to try again, he was vigilant, shrewd, intrepid, and successful, in tracking their schemes of open violence, and forcing the development of their plot beyond the walls.

His colleague Antonius — whom, half by bribery and half by flattery or threats, he had turned against them — was compelled, with whatever reluctance, to take the field to fight them; and, though conveniently lame on the day of battle, had forced upon him the military glory of their defeat. The conspiracy proper was quite annihilated by this blow. No avowed leader or accomplice in it seems to have been left in Rome. And it was not till the coalition of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, three years later, gave new hope to the enemies of the Senate, and Clodius succeeded Catiline as the leader of what was most ferocious and desperate in Rome, that Cicero met the penalty of his great political error, the illegal death of the conspirators.

In the logic of events, this conspiracy was a sequel to the revolution of Sulla, and a prelude to the overthrow of the republic by Cæsar. While nominally a conservative, Sulla had been, in reality, an innovator of the most dangerous type. He had set himself in armed opposition to a reform, which, though disfigured from the times of the Gracchi by many acts of violence, might yet have saved for many generations the free political life of Rome. The great political crime of Sulla was that he deliberately destroyed the existing constitution, to restore by force that which had been outgrown a hundred years before. A still more fatal policy was to subvert the popular life of the Italian communities, and to destroy, as far as he could, the remains of that free yeomanry which — though in arms against Rome in the “Social War” — made now the best hope of the Republic. The dictator must provide landed estates for his veterans, whatever came of it; and the wide-spread ruin and despair that rose from this made the chief reliance of the conspiracy. The horrible civil war, with its massacres on one side and its proscriptions on the other, had fatally corrupted the very springs of political morality. It had even destroyed (so to speak) the political sense. Politics had been bad enough before. Party controversies had often resulted in assassination, massacre, and exile. Now, it was

deliberately resolved to settle all such questions by the sword. When Sulla (B. C. 88), on being directed by the authority of the State to surrender his command to Marius, refused to obey, but marched instead upon the city, and put his antagonists to the sword, the Republic was at an end. Though nominally restored, it was after this an empty form. It opened the field for the swift victories of Pompey, the eloquent career of Cicero, the brilliant exploits of Cæsar. But its political life was a series of violences, conspiracies, and cabals. The real power was only waiting for the man who had the capacity and the will to take it. When the forces of faction were at length exhausted, the wary craft of Octavianus easily gathered the ripe spoils of empire.

The conspiracy of Catiline was, at most, a futile attempt to do what Sulla had done once, and what Cæsar did afterwards. It failed, partly because it was undertaken by an incompetent chief; but mainly because it was an impatient effort to hasten the natural course of events. The revolutions of Sulla and of Cæsar grew out of a long series of transactions; they were seen coming, and prepared for long beforehand. It was otherwise in Catiline's case. There was no great convulsion which his success might seem to heal, no war of parties to which he might offer the bribe of peace. There was discontent enough to appeal to, and misgovernment enough to assail. And it may be that he was used by wilier and abler plotters, to feel whether the time was ripe. But the success of such a movement could have been nothing but a pure tyranny, without even the plea of necessity, which Cæsar and perhaps Sulla might urge. It is, therefore, not a great event of history, but only an episode, or at most a significant incident. It grew out of the disorder of the times; it also reacted upon them, did much immediate mischief, and probably hastened the final catastrophe. Still, if we knew nothing of it except the fact that it took place, the real loss to history would be slight and indirect. We could not afford, it is true, to lose Sallust's narrative of the conspiracy, or Cicero's orations against its chief. But we

could very well afford to exchange them for other things which we have lost,— works of the same authors, and no greater in extent.

Of Sallust — CAIUS SALUSTIUS CRISPUS — we know little that is worth knowing, except the bare outlines of his life, and the fact that he was a constant partisan of Cæsar. He was born B. C. 86, just twenty years later than Cicero. He was never very prominent in the politics of Rome, though he says that in his youth he had strong inducements to enter public life. His private life was charged as scandalous; he was once, it is said, soundly thrashed by Milo for attentions to his wife, and was afterwards expelled from the Senate by the partisans of Pompey. He served Cæsar rather inefficiently in the Civil War; and was made by him governor (*proprætor*) of the provinces of Africa and Numidia. Here he gathered the usual spoils of great wealth, and the rarer treasure of historic material which he used in his romantic and striking narrative of the career of Jugurtha, the great Numidian chieftain. His gardens in Rome were proverbial for luxury and splendor; and he lived in retired indulgence, apart from the later struggles of the Commonwealth, till his death in B. C. 35.

As historian, it was the plan of Sallust to write out the history of his own times, beginning with the death of Sulla. He seems also to have touched upon earlier events, especially the Social or Marsic War; and his history of Jugurtha may be regarded as a sort of introduction to the civil wars of Marius, whose earlier political career is told in it. His practice was to write in episodes, or fragments; and of his more general scheme only the narrative of Catiline's conspiracy remains, with a few speeches and letters, which are little else than pieces of rhetorical composition.

The ancients ranked Sallust very high as a writer, and did not scruple to compare him to Thucydides.* Modern

* Sed non historia cesserit Græcis, nec opponere Thucydidi Salustium verear. Quint. x. 1, 101.

criticism does not support this view. His merits as a writer are doubtless very great. He is master of a terse, sententious, manly style, — *oris probi, animo inverecundo*, — and tells his story with considerable narrative power. But, compared with Thucydides or with Tacitus, his writings show no real earnestness or dignity; the elaborate political disquisitions and moral reflections seem forced; his descriptions, though vigorous and compact, lack that wonderful vividness which we find in those great historians. He gives the impression of a rhetorician, saying — finely — what he thinks it is proper for him to say, rather than expressing genuine feelings and opinions. He has been called a pessimist, cynical, and *blasé*; and has been accused of unfairness, particularly of hostility to Cicero. But this last charge is certainly not made out: the “Catiline,” at least, is remarkably free from partisan feeling, except as it may perhaps echo the scandals or the temper of the period. And the debaucheries, of which Sallust’s earlier career is accused, were greatly atoned by the honest attempt he seems to have made, later in his life, to leave a fit and instructive record of a remarkable time.

CHRONOLOGY OF CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY.

B. C.

68. Coss. L. Cæcilius Metellus. Q. Marcius Rex. *Catiline prætor.*
67. „ C. Calpurnius Piso. M'. Acilius Glabrio. *Catiline governor of Africa.* Gabinian Law passed.
66. „ M. Æmilius Lepidus. L. Volcatius Tullus.
Catiline's First Conspiracy. Manilian Law passed.
65. „ L. Aurelius Cotta. L. Manlius Torquatus.
Catiline prosecuted on a charge of repetundæ.
64. „ L. Julius Cæsar. Q. Marcius Figulus.
Catiline is defeated as candidate for consul.
63. „ M. Tullius Cicero. C. Antonius (Kal. Jan. = March 14).
Catiline's Second Conspiracy.
Oct. 21. Consuls invested with extraordinary powers.
„ 27. Manlius takes up arms at Fæsulæ.
„ 28. Consular election.
Catiline prosecuted under the *Lex Plantia de vi.*
Nov. 6. Meeting of Conspirators at the house of M. Læca.
„ 8. Cicero's First Oration. Catiline leaves the city.
„ 9. Cicero's Second Oration.
Intrigues with the ambassadors of the Allobroges.
Dec. 3. Arrest of the Conspirators. Cicero's Third Oration.
„ 5. Cicero's Fourth Oration.
The Conspirators put to death in prison.
62. „ D. Junius Silvanus. L. Licinius Murena (Kal. Jan. = March 4).
Battle of Pistoria. Catiline defeated and killed.

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE,

B.C. 63.

OMNIS homines, qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet, ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora, quae natura prona atque ventri oboedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est: animi imperio, corporis ; servitio magis utimur ; alterum nobis cum deis, alterum cum beluis commune est. Quo mihi rectius videtur ingeni quam virium opibus gloriam quaerere ; et, quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis est, memoriam nostri quam maxime longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et 10 formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis est, virtus clara aeternaque habetur.

Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, vine 11-7
corporis an virtute animi res militaris magis procederet. Nam et prius quam incipias consulto, et ubi 15
consulueris mature facto opus est. Ita utrumque per se indigens alterum alterius auxilio eget. 2. Igitur initio reges — nam in terris nomen imperi id primum fuit — divorsi pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant: etiam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur, sua 20
cuique satis placebant. Postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lacedaemonii et Athenienses coepere urbis atque nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maximo imperio putare, tum demum periculo atque 25
negotiis compertum est in bello plurimum ingenium posse. Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita ut in bello valeret, aequabilius atque constantius sese res humanae haberent, neque aliud alio ferri neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneret. 30

Nam imperium facile eis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est; verum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. Ita imperium
5 semper ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur.

Quae homines arant, navigant, aedificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam sicuti peregrinantes
10 transiere: quibus profecto contra naturam corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. Eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta aestumo, quoniam de utraque siletur. Verum enimvero is demum mihi vivere atque frui anima videtur, qui aliquo negotio intentus praeclari
15 facinoris aut artis bonae famam quaerit. Sed in magna copia rerum aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

3. Pulcrum est bene facere rei publicae, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est: vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet; et qui fecere et qui facta aliorum scripsere
20 multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tametsi haudquam par gloria sequitur scriptorem et actorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum quod facta dictis exaequanda sunt, dehinc quia plerique quae delicta reprehenderis malivolentia
25 et invidia dicta putant, ubi de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat aequo animo accipit, supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit.

Sed ego adulescentulus initio sicuti plerique studio
30 ad rem publicam latus sum, ibique mihi multa advorsa fuere. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinencia, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigeabant. Quae tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium, tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla aetas ambitione corrupta
35 tenebatur: ac me, cum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido eadem eadem-

que quae ceteros fama atque invidia vexabat. 4. Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium contere, neque vero agrum colundo aut 5 venando (servilibus officiis) intentum aetatem agere; sed a quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinue- rat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, per- scribere, — eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus 10 rei publicae animus liber erat.

Igitur de Catilinae conjuratione, quam verissime potero, paucis absolvam: nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda 15 sunt quam initium narrandi faciam.

5. LUCIUS CATILINA nobili genere natus fuit, magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adulescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae, discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique juventutem suam 20 exercuit. Corpus patiens inediae, alboris, vigiliae supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdolus, varius, cujus rei lubet simulator ac dissimu- lator: alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupidi- tatibus: satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum: vastus 25 animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc post dominationem Luci Sullae lubido maxuma invaserat rei publicae capiundae, neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis 30 magisque in dies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum, quae utraque eis artibus auxerat quas supra memoravi. Incitabant praeterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. 35

Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civi-

3. *Regem Rémam, sicut ego accepi, condidere neque
 colere nullo Triāni. qui Aenea iuce profugi sedi-
 ne caecis sagabantur, cumque et Aborigines, genus
 eximium, ignote, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum
 stipe equum. Ibi postquam in una moenia con-
 crevere, dispar genere, dissimili lingua, nullo alio more
 decus, necdubie memoratu est quam facie co-
 queret. Sed postquam res eorum, civibus moribus
 virisq. multa satis prospera satisque poliens videbatur,
 fieri placque normam habentur, invidia ex opu-
 dentia orta est. Igitur reges populiq. intumi bello
 cupere, poci ex amicis iuxilio esse: nam ceteri
 metu perculsi a periculis aberant. At Romani domi
 seduloq. intenti festinare, parare, aliis uium hortari,
 4. *ut illis quidam res, libertatem patriam parentisque
 remque reges. Post, ut pericula virtute propulerant,
 melius atque amicis auxilia portabant, magisque dandis
 quam accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant.**

Imperium legitimum, nomen imperi regium habebant: defecti quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientia raudum erat, rei publicae consultabant: ei rei salute vel corae similitudine patres appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae rei publicae fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque se convertit, immutato more annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minime posse putabant per licentiam inolescere animum humanum. 7. Sed ea tempestate coepere se quisque magis extollere magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni quam mali suspiciores sunt, semperque eis aliena virtus formidulosa est. Sed

civitas incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriae incesserat. Jam primum juvenus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat, magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis atque 5 conviviis lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labor insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidulosus: virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriae maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: se quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, 10 conspici dum tale facinus faceret, properabat: eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant: laudis avidi, pecuniae liberales erant: gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias 15 populus Romanus parva manu fuderit, quas urbis natura munitas pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab incepto traheret.

8. Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur: ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero celebrat 20 obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicut ego aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere, verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama feruntur. Sed quia provenire ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. 25 Ita eorum qui fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. At populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissimus quisque maxime negotiosus erat, ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat, optumus quisque facere 30 quam dicere, sua ab aliis bene facta laudari quam ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

9. Igitur domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur: concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat: jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat. Jurgia discordias simultates cum hostibus

exercebant, cives cum civibus de virtute certabant: in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat aequitate, seque remque publicam
5 curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta haec habeo, quod in bello saepius vindicatum est in eos qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius revocati proelio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant; in
10 pace vero, quod beneficiis magis quam metu imperium agitabant, et accepta injuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

10. Sed ubi labore atque justitia res publica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi
15 ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, aemula imperi Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant: saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile toleraverant, eis otium, divitiae, optanda alias, oneri miseriaeque
20 fuere. Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit: ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvortit: pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Ambitio
25 multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere, amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re sed ex commodo aestumare, magisque voltum quam ingenium bonum habere.

Haec primo paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari:
30 post, ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium ex justississimo atque optumo crudele intolerandumque factum. 11. Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat. Nam gloriam
35 honorem imperium bonus et ignavos aequae sibi exoptant; sed ille vera via nititur, huic quia bonae artes

desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit : ea quasi venenis malis imbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat, semper infinita insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla, 5 armis recepta re publica, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit, rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius alius agros cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores habere, foeda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia 10 ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat : loca amoena voluptaria facile in otio ferocis militum animos molliverant. Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare ; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa 15 caelata mirari ; ea privatim et publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur ei milites postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere. Quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant : ne illi corruptis moribus victoriae tempera- 20 rent.

* 12. Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere, et eas gloria imperium potentia sequebatur, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malivolentia duci coepit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria 25 atque avaritia cum superbia invasere : rapere, consumere ; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere ; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. Operae pretium est, cum domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum ex- 30 aedificatas, visere templa deorum, quae nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales, fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suas gloria decorabant, neque victis quicquam praeter injuriae licentiam eripiebant. At hi contra, ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus 35 omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissimi viri victores

- reliquerant: proinde quasi injuriam facere id demum esset imperio uti. 13. Nam quid ea memorem, quae nisi eis qui videre nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis compluribus subvorsos montis, maria constrata esse?
- 5 Quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae: quippe quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed libido stupri, ganeae ceterique cultus non minor inceserat: viri muliebria pati, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi
- 10 causa terra marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius quam somni cupido esset; non famem aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Haec juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant: animus imbutus
- 15 malis artibus haud facile lubricinibus carebat: eo profusius omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.
- *14. In tanta tamque corrupta civitate Catilina, id quod factu facillimum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se tamquam stipatorum catervas habebat. Nam quicumque impudicus adulter ganeo ventre bona patria laceraverat, quique alienum aes grande conflaverat quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret, praeterea omnes undique parricidae, sacrilegi, convicti
- 25 judicii aut pro factis judicium timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat, ei Catilinae proximi familiaresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam
- 30 ejus inciderat, cotidiano usu atque inlecebris facile par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxime adolescentium familiaritates appetebat: eorum animi molles [aetate] et fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur. Nam ut cujusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis scorta
- 35 praeberet, aliis canes atque equos mercari, postremo neque sumptui neque modestiae suae parcere, dum

illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret. Scio fuisse nonnullos qui ita existumarent, juventutem, quae domum Catilinae frequentabat, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse, sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod cuiquam id compertum foret, haec fama valebat. 5

15. Jam primum adulescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestae, alia hujusce modi contra jus fasque. Postremo captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, cujus praeter formam nihil umquam bonus laudavit, quod ea nubere illi dubitabat 10 timens privignum adultum aetate, pro certo creditur necato filio vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quae quidem res mihi in primis videtur causa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, deis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus 15 sedari poterat: ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur colos ei exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo modo tardus incessus: prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia inerat. 16. Sed juventutem, quam (ut supra diximus) inllexerat, multis modis mala facinora edoce- 20 bat. Ex illis testis signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula, vilia habere; post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat: si causa peccandi in praesens minus suppetebat, nihilo minus insontis sicuti sontis circumvenire, jugu- 25 lare, — scilicet ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat. Eis amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat, et quod plerique Sullani milites, largius suo usu, rapinarum et victoriae 30 veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant, opprimendae rei publicae consilium cepit. In Italia nullus exercitus, Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat, ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes, senatus nihil sane intentus: tutae tranquillaeque res omnes, 35 sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

17. Igitur circiter Kalendas Junias, L. Caesare [et] C. Figulo consulibus, primo singulos appellare : hortari alios, alios temptare : opes suas, imparatam rem publicam, magna praemia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis
5 explorata sunt quae voluit, in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxuma necessitudo et plurimum audaciae inerat. Eo convenere senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullae Servi filii, L. Vargunteius,
10 Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius : praeterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius : ad hoc multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant
15 praeterea complures paulo occultius consili hujusce participes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam inopia aut alia necessitudo. Ceterum juvenus pleraque, sed maxume nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat : quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum
20 quam pacem malebant. Fuere item ea tempestate qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consili fuisse ; quia Cn. Pompeius, invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si conjuratio
25 valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

18. Sed antea item conjuravere pauci contra rem publicam, in quibus Catilina fuit : de qua quam verissime potero dicam. L. Tullo [et] M'. Lepido consulibus, P. Autronius et P. Sulla, designati consules,
30 legibus ambitus interrogati poenas dederant. Post paulo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere [quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit]. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adulescens nobilis, summae audaciae, egens,
35 factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem publicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina et

Autronius circiter Nonas Decembris, consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januariis L. Cottam et L. Torquatam consules interficere, ipsi fascibus conreptis Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. . . . Ea re cognita, rursus in 5 Nonas Februarias consilium caedis transtulerant. Jam tum non consulibus modo, sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur. Quod ni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis dare, eo die post conditam urbem Romam pessimum facinus patratum foret. 10 Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit. 19. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quaestor pro praetore missus est, adnitente Crasso, quod eum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus 15 dederat: quippe foedum hominem a re publica procul esse volebat; simul quia boni complures praesidium in eo putabant, et jam tum potentia Pompei formidulosa erat. Sed is Piso in provincia ab equitibus Hispanis, quos sine exercitu ductabat iter faciens, occisus 20 est. Sunt qui ita dicant, imperia ejus injusta superba crudelia barbaros nequivisse pati; alii autem equites illos, Cn. Pompei veteres fidosque clientis, voluntate ejus Pisonem adgressos: numquam Hispanos praeterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia saeva multa antea 25 perpressos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiore conjuratione satis dictum.

20. Catilina, ubi eos quos paulo ante memoravi convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa saepe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens univorsos appellare et co- 30 hortari, in abditam partem aedium secedit, atque ibi omnibus arbitris procul amotis orationem hujusce modi habuit:

“Ni virtus fidesque vostra spectata mihi forent, nequiquam opportuna res cecidisset: spes magna, dominatio in manibus 35 frustra fuissent; neque ego per ignaviam aut vana ingenia

incerta pro certis captarem. Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortis fidosque mihi, eo animus ausus est maxumum atque pulcerrumum facinus incipere, simul quia vobis eadem quae mihi bona malaque esse intel-
 5 lexi. Nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.

“Sed ego quae mente agitavi, omnes jam antea divorsi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus adcenditur, cum considero quae conditio vitae futura sit, nisi nosmet
 10 ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam res publica in paucorum potentium jus atque dicionem concessit, semper illis reges tetrarchae vectigales esse, populi nationes stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, volgus fuimus sine gratia, sine auctoritate,
 15 eis obnoxii, quibus, si res publica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiae apud illos sunt aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere pericula, rep. as, judicia, egestatem. Quae quo usque tandem patiemi-
 20 nitur, fortissimi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem praestat, qualem vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere?

“Verum enimvero, pro deum atque hominum fidem, victoria in manu nobis est; viget aetas, animus valet: contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. Tantum mor-
 25 incepto opus est, cetera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium est, tolerare potest illis divitias superare, quas profundant in extrudendo mari et montibus coaequandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis
 30 larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant, tamen summa lubricine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. At nobis est domi inopia, foris aes alienum; mala res, spes multo
 35 asperior: denique, quid reliqui habemus praeter miseram animam?

“Quin igitur expergiscimini! En illa, illa, quam saepe optastis, libertas, praeterea divitiae, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt: fortuna omnia ea victoribus praemia posuit. Res,
 40 tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica, magis

quam oratio mea vos hortantur. Vel imperatore vel milite me utemini: neque animus, neque corpus a vobis aberit. Haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul agam, nisi forte me animus fallit, et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis."

5

21. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla, tametsi illis quieta movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulavere plerique, ut proponeret quae condicio belli foret, quae praemia armis peterent, quid 10 ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quae bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Praeterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. 15 Sittium Nucerinum, consili sui participes; petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi conlegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; cum eo se consulem initium agundi facturum. Ad hoc male dictis increpabat 20 omnis bonos, suorum unumquemque nominans laudare: admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suae, compluris periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt, cohortatus ut petitionem 25 suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit. 22. Fuere ea tempestate, qui dicerent Catilinam, oratione habita, cum ad jusjurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse: inde cum post execrationem omnes 30 degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, [atque eo dictitare fecisse,] quo inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta et haec et multa praeterea existumabant ab eis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, 3) quae postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris

eorum, qui poenas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

23. Sed in ea conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus copertus, quem
5 censores senatu probri gratia moverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia : neque reticere quae audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare, prorsus neque dicere neque facere quicquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulvia, muliere nobili, stupri
10 vetus consuetudo : cui cum minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri poterat, repente glorians maria montisque polliceri coepit, et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia foret ; postremo ferocius agitare quam solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiae Curi causa cognita,
15 tale periculum rei publicae haud occultum habuit, sed sublato auctore, de Catilinae conjuratione quae quoque modo audierat compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque antea pleraque nobilitas
20 invidia aestuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius homo novus adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.

24. Igitur comitiis habitis consules declarantur M.
25 Tullius et C. Antonius. Quod factum primo popularis conjurationis concusserat : neque tamen Catilinae furor minuebatur, sed in dies plura agitare ; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut amicorum fide sumptam mutuam Faesulas ad Man-
30 lium quendam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Ea tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot, quae primo ingentis sumptus stupro corporis toleraverant, post ubi aetas tantum modo quaestui neque
35 luxuriae modum fecerat, aes alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia

urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi vel interficere.

25. Sed in eis erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis audaciae facinora commiserat. Haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro liberis satis fortunata fuit: litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere, saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae, multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. Sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres; 10 lubricine sic adcensa, ut saepius peteret viros quam peteretur. Sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat; luxuria atque inopia praeceps abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse versus facere, jocum movere, 15 sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci; prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat.

26. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minus in proximum annum consulatum petebat, sperans, si designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio usu- 20 rum. Neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deērant. Namque a principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per Fulviam effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante memoravi, consilia 25 Catilinae sibi proderet; ad hoc conlegam suum Antonium pactione provinciae perpulerat, ne contra rem publicam sentiret; circum se praesidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinae neque petitio neque insidiae quas 30 [consulibus] in campo fecerat prospere cessere, constituit bellum facere et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quae occulte temptaverat aspera foedaque evenerant.

27. Igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem 35 Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum

Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit, praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romae multa simul moliri: [consulibus] insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere; ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere, hortari uti semper intenti paratique essent; dies noctisque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremo ubi multa agitati nihil procedit, rursus intempesta nocte conjurationis principes convocat penes M. Porcium Laecam, ibique, multa de ignavia eorum questus, docet se Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitudinem quam ad capiunda arma paraverat, item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset: eum suis consiliis multum obficere. 28. Igitur, perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius eques Romanus operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L. Vargunteius senator constituere ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improvviso domui suae imparatum confodere. Curius ubi intellegit quantum periculi consuli impendeat, propere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur enuntiat. Ita illi, janua prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant.

Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore injuriae novarum rerum cupidam, quod Sullae dominatione agros bonaque omnia amiserat; praeterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum in ea regione magna copia erat, nonnullos ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerat.

29. Ea cum Ciceroni nuntiarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manli quantus aut quo consilio foret satis compertum habe-

bat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea volgi rumoribus exagitatum. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, *Darent operam consules, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet.* Ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistratui maxuma per- 5 mittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coërcere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere: aliter sine populi jussu nullius earum rerum consuli jus est.

30. Post paucos dies, L. Saenius senator in senatu 10 litteras recitavit, quas Faesulis adlatas sibi dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magna multitudine ante diem vi. Kalendas Novembris. Simul, id quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia nuntiabant, alii conventus fieri, 15 arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia servile bellum moveri. Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius Rex Faesulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca missi—ei utrique ad urbem imperatores erant, impediti ne triumpharent calumnia paucorum, quibus 20 omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat;—sed praetores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum, eisque permissum, uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. Ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de conjuratione quae con- 25 tra rem publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et sestertia centum, libero impunitatem ejus rei et sestertia ducenta; itemque decrevere, uti gladiatoriae familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur pro cujusque opibus, Romae per totam urbem vigiliae 30 haberentur, eisque minores magistratus praeessent.

31. Quibus rebus permota civitas atque immutata urbis facies erat. Ex summa laetitia atque lascivia, quae diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tristitia invasit: festinare, trepidare, neque loco neque homini 35 cuiquam satis credere, neque bellum gerere neque

pacem habere, suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, adflictae sese, manus supplicis ad caelum tendere, miserari parvos liberos, 5 rogare, omnia pavere, superbia atque deliciis omissis sibi patriaeque diffidere.

At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa movebat, tametsi praesidia parabantur, et ipse lege Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. Postremo dissimulandi 10 causa vel sui expurgandi, sicubi jurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive praesentiam ejus timens sive ira commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, 15 ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu voce supplici postulare a patribus coepit, ne quid de se temere crederent: ea familia ortum, ita se ab adolescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet; ne existumarent, sibi, patricio homini, cujus ipsius 20 atque majorum plurima beneficia in populum Romanum essent, perdita re publica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae. Ad hoc male dicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus, 25 *Quoniam quidem circumventus inquit ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam.*

32. Deinde se ex curia domum proripuit. Ibi multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis 30 munitam, optimum factu credens exercitum augere, ac prius quam legiones scriberentur multa antecapere quae bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, ceterisque quorum cognoverat promptam 35 audaciam, mandat quibus rebus possint opes factionis confirmari, insidias consuli maturent, caedem, incendia

aliaque belli facinora parent; sese propediem cum magno exercitu ad urbem adcessurum.

33. Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit cum mandatis hujusce modi: 'Deos hominesque testamur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuria tuta forent; qui, miseri, egentes, violentia atque crudelitate feneratorum, plerique patriae, sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus: neque cuiquam nostrum licuit more majorum lege uti, neque amisso patrimonio liberum corpus habere, — tanta saevitia feneratorum atque praetoris fuit. Saepe majores vostrum, miseriti plebis Romanae, decretis suis inopiae ejus opitulati sunt, ac novissime memoria nostra propter magnitudinem aeris alieni volentibus omnibus bonis argentum aere solutum est: saepe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota aut superbia magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum causa bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt, sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima simul amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus, legis praesidium, quod iniquitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis, nevé nobis eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quaeramus quonam modo maxime ultimi sanguinem nostrum pereamus.' 34. Ad haec Q. Marcus respondet: Si quid ab senatu petere velint, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur; ea mansuetudine atque misericordia senatum populi Romani semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.

At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, praeterea optumo cuique, litteras mittit: Se, falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere; Massiliam in

exilium proficisci, non quo sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti res publica quæta foret, neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur. Ab his longe divorsas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditas dicebat. Earum exemplum infra scriptum est :

35. "L. Catilina Q. Catulo. Egregia tua fides re cognita, grata mihi magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam commendationi meae tribuit. Quam ob rem defensionem in novo
10 consilio non statui parere, satisfactionem ex nulla conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, quam, me diu Fidius, veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum causam pro mea con-
15 suetudine suscepi, non quia aes alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere non possem, cum scilicet alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae suis filiaeque copiis persolveret, sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque falsa suspitione alienatum esse sentiebam.
20 Hoc nomine satis honestas pro meo casu spes reliquæ dignitatis, conservandæ sum secutus. Plura cum scribere vellem, nuntiatum est vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo tuæque fidei trado: eam ab injuria defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. Haveto."

25 36. Sed ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium [*Flammam*] in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem antea sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperi insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Haec ubi Romae comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam
30 et Manlium hostis judicat; ceterae multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere, praeter rerum capitalium condemnatis: praeterea decernit uti consules dilectum habeant, Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet, Cicero urbi
35 praesidio sit.

Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxime miserabile visum est: cui cum ad occasum

ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque divitiae, quae prima mortales putant, adfluerent, fuere tamen cives, qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta multitudine neque praemio inductus 5 conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat. Tanta vis morbi erat, quae uti tabes plerosque civium animos invaserat.

37. Neque solum illis aliena mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes nova- 10 rum rerum studio Catilinae incepta probabat. Id adeo more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullae sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt, vetera odere, nova exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student, turba atque seditionibus sine 15 cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea vero praeceps erat de multis causis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxime praestabant, item alii per dedecora patrimoniis amissis, postremo omnes quos 20 flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, ei Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerant. Deinde multi memores Sullanae victoriae, quod ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites ut regio victu atque cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis foret, 25 ex victoria talia sperabat. Praeterea juvenus, quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerat. Eos atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat; quo minus mirandum est 30 homines egentis, malis moribus, maxuma spe, rei publicae juxta ac sibi consuluisse. Praeterea quorum victoria Sullae parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum exspectabant. Ad hoc quicumque aliarum 35 atque senatus partium erant, conturbari rem publicam

quam minus valere ipsi malebant. Id adeo malum multos post annos in civitatem revorterat. 38. Nam postquam, Cn. Pompeio [et] M. Crasso consulibus, tribunicia potestas restituta est, homines adulescentes
5 summam potestatem nanci, quibus aetas animusque ferox erat, coepere senatum criminando plebem exagitare, dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis incendere: ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. Contra eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, senatus specie,
10 pro sua magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis verum absolvam, post Sullae tempora quicumque rem publicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars quo senatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes, pro sua quisque
15 potentia certabant. Neque illis modestia neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

39. Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus est, plebis opes
20 imminutae, paucorum potentia crevit. Ei magistratus, provincias aliaque omnia tenere; ipsi innoxii florentes sine metu aetatem agere, ceteros, qui plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent, judiciis terrere. Sed ubi primum dubiis rebus novandi spes oblata est, vetus
25 certamen animos eorum adrexit. Quod si primo proelio Catilina superior aut aequa manu discessisset, profecto magna clades atque calamitas rem publicam oppressisset; neque illis, si victoriam adepti forent, diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exsanguibus qui
30 plus posset imperium atque libertatem extorqueret.

Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt. In eis erat A. Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari jussit. Eisdem temporibus Romae Lentulus,
35 sicuti Catilina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna novis rebus idoneos credebatur, aut ipse aut per

alios sollicitabat, neque solum civis, sed cujusque modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret. 40. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirat, eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli, existumans publice privatimque 5 aere alieno oppressos, praeterea quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat. Itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in 10 foro conspexit, percontatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum, requirere coepit quem exitum tantis malis sperarent. Postquam illos videt queri de avaritia magistratum, accusare senatum quod in eo auxilii nihil esset, miseriis suis remedium mortem 15 expectare, 'At ego' inquit 'vobis, si modo viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiat.' Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maximum spem adducti Umbrenum orare, ut sui misereretur; nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupi- 20 dissume facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit, quod foro propinqua erat, neque aliena consili propter Semproniam; nam tum Brutus ab Roma aberat. Praeterea Gabinium accersit, quo major auctoritas 25 sermoni inesset. Eo praesente conjurationem aperit, nominat socios, praeterea multos cujusque generis innoxios, quo legatis animus amplior esset; deinde eos pollicitos operam suam domum dimittit. 41. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consili 30 caperent. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae; at in altera majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa praemia. Haec illis volventibus tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cujus patro- 35 cinio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti

cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis praecipit ut studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque operam uti eos quam maxume manus
5 festos habeant.

42. Eisdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia, motus erat. Namque illi, quos ante Catilina dimiserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam cuncta simul age-
10 bant : nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero compluris Q. Metellus Celer praetor ex senatus consulto causa cognita in vincula conjecerat, item in ulteriore Gallia C. Mu-
15 rena, qui ei provinciae legatus praeerat.

43. At Romae Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis ut videbantur magnis copiis, constituerant uti, cum Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebei, con-
20 tione habita, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellicae gravissimi invidiam optumo consuli imposeret : eo signo, proxima nocte cetera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequeretur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur : Statilius et Gabinius uti
25 cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem ceterosque quibus insidiae parabantur fieret ; Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eumque vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium ; sed filii familiarum, quorum ex
30 nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentis interficerent ; simul, caede et incendio percussis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter haec parata atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum : illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportuni-
35 tates corrumpere ; facto, non consulto in tali periculo opus esse ; seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus

aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat: maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

44. Sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt: ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio postulant jus jurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant; aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Ceteri nihil suspicantes dant, Cassius semet eo brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. 10 Lentulus cum eis T. Volturcium quendam Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges prius quam domum pergerent cum Catilina, data atque accepta fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est: “ Quis sim, ex 15 eo quem ad te misi cognosces. Fac cogites in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse: consideres quid tuae rationes postulent: auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.” Ad hoc mandata verbis dat: cum ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia 20 repudiet? in urbe parata esse quae jusserit: ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.

45. His rebus ita actis, constituta nocte qua proficiscerentur, Cicero per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomptino praetoribus imperat, 25 ut in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit, cujus gratia mittebantur; cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant permittit. Illi, homines militares, sine tumultu praesidiis collocatis sicuti praeceptum erat, occulte pontem obsidunt. 30 Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venire, simul utrimque clamor exortus est, Galli cito, cognito consilio, sine mora praetoribus se tradunt. Volturcius, primo cohortatus ceteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit; deinde ubi a legatis desertus est, multa prius 35 de salute sua Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus

erat, postremo timidus ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus sese praetoribus dedit.

46. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuntios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque
5 laetitia simul occupavere : nam laetabatur intellegens conjuratione patefacta civitatem periculis ereptam esse, porro autem anxius erat, dubitans in maxumo scelere, tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus esset ; poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundae rei
10 publicae fore credebat. Igitur confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, itemque [quendam] Caeparium Tarracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat.

15 Ceteri sine mora veniunt ; Caeparius, paulo ante domo egressus, cognito indicio ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum quod praetor erat ipse manu tenens perducit, reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae venire jubet. Eo senatum advocat, magnaque frequentia ejus ordinis Volturcium cum legatis introducit,
20 Flaccum praetorem scrinium, cum litteris quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet. 47. Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo quid aut qua de causa consili habuisset, primo fingere alia,
25 dissimulare de conjuratione ; post, ubi fide publica dicere jussus est, omnia uti gesta erant aperit, docetque se, paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et Caepario socium adscitum, nihil amplius scire quam legatos ; tantum modo audire solitum ex Gabinio P. Autronium,
30 Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos praeterea in ea conjuratione esse. Eadem Galli fatentur, ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt praeter litteras sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus erat : ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus Corneliis portendi ;
35 Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri ; praeterea ab incenso Capitolio illum

esse vigesimum annum, quem saepe ex prodigiis aruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore. Igitur perlectis litteris, cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus, itemque ceteri, in liberis custodiis habeantur. Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Caeparius (nam is paulo ante ex fuga retractus erat) Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

10

48. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefacta, quae primo, cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello favebat, mutata mente Catilinae consilia execrari, Ciceronem ad caelum tollere; veluti ex servitute erepta gaudium atque laetitiam agitabat: namque alia belli facinora 15 praedae magis quam detrimento fore, incendium vero crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxime calamitosum putabat, quippe cui omnes copiae in usu cotidiano et cultu corporis erant.

Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum 20 adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is cum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione si fides publica data esset, jussus a consule quae sciret edicere, eadem fere quae Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de caede bonorum, de 25 itinere hostium, senatum docet; praeterea se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinae nuntiaret, ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliique ex conjuratione deprehensi terrent, eoque magis properaret ad urbem adcedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret, et illi facilius e periculo 30 eriperentur. Sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars tametsi verum existimabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique 35 Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant in-

dicem falsum esse, deque ea re postulant uti referatur. Itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit: Tarquini indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum, neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi
5 de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem esset mentitus. Erant eo tempore qui existumarent indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius adpellato Crasso per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentia teneret; alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immissum aiebant,
10 ne Crassus more suo, suscepto malorum patrocinio, rem publicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem audiui, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.

49. Sed eisdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso
15 neque pretio neque gratia Ciceronem impellere quivere, uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Caesar falso nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant: Piso oppugnatus in iudicio pecuniarum repetundarum propter cujusdam Trans-
20 padani supplicium injustum; Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod extrema aetate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Caesare victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur, quod is privatim egregia liberalitate, publice maxumis mu-
25 neribus, grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatim circumeundo atque ementiundo, quae se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant, usque eo, ut nonnulli
30 equites Romani, qui praesidi causa cum telis erant circum aedem Concordiae, seu periculi magnitudine seu animi mobilitate impulsus, quo studium suum in rem publicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Caesari gladio minitarentur.

35 50. Dum haec in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio, comprobato eorum in-

dicio, præmia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli divorsis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiundum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant; Cethegus autem per nuntios 5 familiam atque libertos suos, lectos et exercitatos [in audaciam], orabat ut grege facto cum telis ad sese inrumperent. Consul ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, refert quid de eis fieri placeat, qui in 10 custodiam traditi erant. Sed eos paulo ante frequens senatus judicaverat contra rem publicam fecisse. Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de eis qui in custodiis tenebantur, et praeterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. 15 Umbreno, Q. Annio si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumundum decreverat; isque postea, permotus oratione C. Caesaris, pedibus in sententiam Tiberi Neronis iturum se dixerat, qui de ea re praesidiis additis referundum censuerat. Sed Caesar, ubi ad 20 eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam a consule, hujusce modi verba locutus est:

51. "Omnis homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa 25 obficiunt, neque quisquam omnium lubrici simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet: si lubrici possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia est memorandi, patres conscripti, quae reges atque populi, ira aut misericordia impulsu, male consuluerint; sed ea malo 30 dicere, quae majores nostri contra lubricum animi sui recte atque ordine fecere. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani opibus creverat, infida et adversa nobis fuit; sed postquam bello confecto de Rhodiis consultum est, 35 majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis quam injuria causa bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos eos dimisere. Item

bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginienses [et] in pace et per inducias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere; magis quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illos jure fieri posset, quaerebant.

“Hoc item vobis providendum est, patres conscripti, ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum scelus quam vostra dignitas, neu magis irae vestrae quam famae consulatis. Nam si digna poena pro factis eorum reperitur, novom consilium approbo; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat, eis utendum censeo, quae legibus comparata sunt.

“Plerique eorum qui ante me sententias dixerunt, compositae atque magnifice casum rei publicae miserati sunt: quae belli saevitia esset, quae victis acciderent, enumerare; rapi virgines, pueros; divelli liberos a parentum complexu; matres familiarum pati quae victoribus conlubuissent; fana atque domos spoliari; caedem, incendia fieri; postremo armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis, quo illa oratio pertinuit? An, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? scilicet quem res tanta et tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendit. Non ita est, neque cuiquam mortalium injuriae suae parvae videntur: multi eas gravius aequo habuere.

“Sed alia aliis licentia est, patres conscripti. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt, fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt; qui magno imperio praediti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est; neque studere, neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet; quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. Equidem ego sic existumo, patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores quam facinora illorum esse: sed plerique mortales postrema meminere; et in hominibus impiis, sceleris eorum obliti, de poena disserunt si ea paulo severior fuit.

“D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certo scio quae dixerit studio rei publicae dixisse, neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere: eos mores eamque modestiam viri cognovi. Verum sententia ejus mihi non

crudelis — quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest? — sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur. Nam profecto aut metus aut injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus poenae novom decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, cum praesertim, diligentia clarissimi viri consulis, tanta praesidia sint in armis. De poena possum equidem dicere — id quod res habet — in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortalis, quamobrem 10 in sententia non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animadvorteretur? An quia lex Porcia vetat? At aliae leges item condemnatis civibus non animam eripi, sed exilium permitti jubent. An quia gravius est verberari quam necari? Quid autem acerbum aut nimis grave est in homines 15 tanti facinoris convictos? Sin quia levius est, qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere, cum eam in majore neglexeris?

“At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas rei publicae decretum erit? Tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidet, quicquid evenierit; ceterum vos, patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex rebus bonis orta sunt. Scilicet ubi imperium ad ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit, novom illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos et 25 non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii devictis Atheniensibus triginta viros imposuere, qui rem publicam eorum tractarent. Ei primo coepere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare; ea populus laetari et merito dicere fieri: post, ubi paulatim licentia crevit, juxta 30 bonos et malos lubricinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere; ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultae laetitiae gravis poenas dedit. Nostra memoria victor Sulla, cum Damasippum et alios ejus modi, qui malo rei publicae creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? homines scelestos et 35 factiosos, qui seditionibus rem publicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. Nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, ut is in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita illi, quibus Damasippi 40

mors laetitiae fuerat, paulo post ipsi trahebantur; neque prius finis jugulandi fuit quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego haec non in M. Tullio neque his temporibus vereor; sed in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia
5 sunt. Potest alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi: ubi hoc exemplo per senati decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur?

“Majores nostri, patres conscripti, neque consili neque
10 audaciae umquam eguere, neque illis superbia obstat, quo minus aliena instituta, si modo proba erant, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt; postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo
15 studio domi exsequebantur: imitari quam invidere bonis malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore [Graeciae morem imitati] verberibus animadvortebant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam res publica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones valere, circum-
20 veniri innocentes, alia hujusce modi fieri coepere, tum lex Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus legibus exsilium damnatis permissum est. Hanc ego causam, patres conscripti, quo minus novom consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in
25 illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus.

“Placet igitur eos dimitti et augeri exercitum Catilinae? Minume. Sed ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias; ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quae maxime
30 opibus valent; neu quis de eis postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat; qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium facturum.”

52. Postquam Caesar dicundi finem fecit, ceteri verbo
35 alius alii varie adsentiebantur. At M. Porcius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujusce modi orationem habuit:

“Longe mihi alia mens est, patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, et cum sententias nonnullorum ipse mecum reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur

de poena eorum, qui patriae, parentibus, aris atque focus suis bellum paravere. Res autem monet cavere ab illis magis quam quid in illos statuamus consultare. Nam cetera malificia tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris ne accadat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores: capta 5 urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortalis, vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris quam rem publicam fecistis: si ista, cujuscumque modi sunt quae amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium praebere vultis, expergiscimini aliquando, et ca- 10 pessite rem publicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus neque de sociorum injuriis: libertas et anima nostra in dubio est.

“Saepenumero, patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci, saepe de luxuria atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis ea causa advorsos habeo: 15 qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubidini male facta condonabam. Sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen res publica firma erat: opulentia neglegentiam tolerabat. Nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne an malis moribus vivamus, 20 neque quantum aut quam magnificum imperium populi Romani sit; sed haec cujuscumque modi videntur, nostra an nobiscum una hostium futura sint. Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat? Jam pridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus: quia bona 25 aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in extremo sita est. Sint sane, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus aerari; ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur, et dum paucis sceleratis parcent, bonos 30 omnis perditum eant.

“Bene et composite C. Caesar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit, credo falsa existumans ea quae de inferis memorantur, divorso itinere malos a bonis loca taetra, inculta, foeda atque formidulosa habere. Itaque 35 censuit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per municipia in custodiis habendos; videlicet timens ne, si Romae sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis aut a multitudine conducti per vim eripiantur. Quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantum modo in urbe et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus 40

possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit; sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque vobis timere. Quare cum de P.
5 Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinae et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. Quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit: si paululum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt.

- 10 “Nolite existumare majores nostros armis rem publicam ex parva magnam fecisse. Si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus; quippe sociorum atque civium, praeterea armorum atque equorum major copia nobis quam illis est. Sed alia fuere, quae illos magnos fecere, quae nobis
15 nulla sunt: domi industria, foris justum imperium; animus in consulundo liber, neque delicto neque lubrici obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum;
20 omnia virtutis praemia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum: ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae aut gratiae servitis, eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rem publicam.

- “Sed ego haec omitto. Conjuravere nobilissimi cives patriam incendere, Gallorum gentem infestissimam nomini Romano ad bellum accersunt, dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc, quid intra moenia deprehensis hostibus faciatis? Misereamini censeo — deliquere homines adulescentuli per ambitionem — atque
30 etiam armatos dimittatis. Ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam convortet. Scilicet res ipsa aspera est, sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxime: sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium expectantes cunctamini, videlicet deis immortalibus confisi,
35 qui hanc rem publicam saepe in maximis periculis servare. Non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando, agundo, bene consulendo prospere omnia cedunt: ubi socordiae te atque ignaviae traderis, nequiquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud
40 majores nostros T. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium

suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit, atque ille egregius adulescens immoderatae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit: vos de crudelissumis parricidis quid statuat cunctamini? Videlicet cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse 5 pudicitiae, si famae suae, si deis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit: ignoscite Cethegi adulescentiae, nisi iterum patriae bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Caepario loquar? quibus si quicquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de re publica habuissent. Postremo, patres 10 conscripti, si (mehercules) peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis: sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urguet, alii intra moenia atque in sinu [urbis] sunt hostes, neque parari neque consuli quicquam potest occulte: 15 quo magis properandum est.

“Qua re ego ita censeo: cum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium res publica in maxuma pericula venerit, eique indicio T. Volturci et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confes-
sique sint, caedem incendia aliaque se foeda atque crudelia 20 facinora in civis patriamque paravisse, de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum supplicium sumundum.”

53. Postquam Cato adsedit, consulares omnes itemque senatus magna pars sententiam ejus laudant, vir- 25 tutem animi ad caelum ferunt: alii alios increpantes timidos vocant, Cato clarus atque magnus habetur: senati decretum fit sicut ille censuerat.

Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quae populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari atque terra prae- 30 clara facinora fecit, forte lubuit adtendere, quae res maxume tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam saepe numero parva manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse; cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc saepe fortunae violen- 35 tiam toleravisse; facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitati constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patra-

visse, eoque factum uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas corrupta est, rursus res publica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, sicuti effeta *vi* parentum, multis tempestatibus haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. Sed memoria mea ingenti virtute, divorsis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Caesar. Quos quoniam res obtulerat, silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin
10 utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possem, aperirem.

54. Igitur eis genus, aetas, eloquentia, prope aequalia fuere, magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. Caesar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitae Cato. Ille mansuetudine et
15 misericordia clarus factus, huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Caesar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo, Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseris perflugium erat, in altero malis pernicies: illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo Caesar
20 in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare, negotiis amicorum intentus sua neglegere, nihil denegare quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere
25 posset. At Catoni studium modestiae, decoris, sed maxime severitatis erat: non divitiis cum divite neque factione cum factioso, sed cum strenuo virtute, cum innocente abstinentia certabat; esse quam videri bonus malebat; ita, quo minus petebat gloriam, eo magis illa
30 sequebatur.

55. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul, optimum factu ratus noctem quae instabat antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, tres viros quae ad supplicium postulabat parare jubet:
35 ipse, praesidiis dispositis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit; idem fit ceteris per praetores. Est in carcere

locus quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paululum ascenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus juncta, sed incultu, tenebris, odore, foeda atque terribilis ejus facies est. 5 In eum locum postquam demissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium quibus praeceptum erat laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius ex gente clarissima Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitae invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Caepario, eodem modo supplicium sumptum est.

56. Dum ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni copia quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit, cohortis pro numero militum 15 complet: deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex sociis in castra venerat, aequaliter distribuerat, ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat, cum initio non amplius duobus milibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis 20 instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii praeacutas sudis portabant. Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere, modo ad urbem, modo in Galliam vorsus castra movere, hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare: sperabat prope diem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent. Interea servitia repudiabat, cujus initio ad eum 25 magnae copiae concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus; simul alienum suis rationibus existumans, videri causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse. 57. Sed postquam in castra nuntius pervenit Romae conjurationem patefactam, de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque quos supra memoravi supplicium sumptum, plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum aut novarum 35 rerum studium inlexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina

per montis asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occulte perfugeret in Galliam [Transalpinam].

- At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro
5 Piceno praesidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans quae supra diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra propere movit, ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti. Neque
10 tamen Antonius procul aberat, utpote qui magno exercitu locis aequioribus expedito in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res advorsas, neque fugae neque praesidi ullam spem, optimum
15 factu ratus in tali re fortunam belli temptare, statuit cum Antonio quam primum conflare. Itaque, conatione advocata, hujusce modi orationem habuit :

58. "Comptum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum neque fortem ex timido
20 exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet : quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequiquam hortere : timor animi auribus obficit. Sed ego vos quo pauca monerem advocavi, simul uti causam mei consilii aperirem.
25 "Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque cladem adtulerit, quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc vero quo [in] loco res nostrae sint, juxta mecum omnes intellegitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter
30 a Gallia obstant : diutius in his locis esse, si maxime animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet : quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiendum est. Qua propter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis, et cum proelium inibitis memineritis vos divitias, decus, gloriam,
35 praeterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris vestris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt, commeatus abunde, municipia atque coloniae patebunt : sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fient ; neque locus, neque amicus quis-

quam teget, quem arma non texerint. Praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita certamus; illis supervacaneum est pro potentia paucorum pugnare.

“Quo audacius adgredimini, memores pristinae virtutis. 5
Licuit vobis cum summa turpitudine in exsilio aetatem agere, potuistis nonnulli Romae amissis bonis alienas opes exspectare: quia illa foeda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. Si haec relinquere voltis, audacia opus est: nemo nisi victor pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fuga 10
salutem sperare, cum arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hostibus avorteris, ea vero dementia est. Semper in proelio eis maximum est periculum qui maxime timent, audacia pro muro habetur.

“Cum vos considero, milites, et cum facta vostra aestumo, 15
magna me spes victoriae tenet. Animus, aetas, virtus vestra me hortantur, praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae loci. Quod si virtuti vestrae fortuna inviderit, cavete inulti animam amittatis; neu capti potius 20
sicuti pecora trucidemini, quam virorum more pugnantes cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis.”

59. Haec ubi dixit, paululum commoratus, signa canere jubet, atque instructos ordines in locum aequum deducit. Dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus 25
exaequato periculo animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montis, et ab dextra rupe aspera, octo cohortis in fronte constituit, reliquarum signa in subsidio artius conlocat: ab eis centuriones 30
omnis lectos et evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextra, Faesulanum quandam in sinistra parte curare jubet: ipse cum libertis et calonibus propter aquilam adsistit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. 35

At ex altera parte C. Antonius, pedibus aeger, quod proelio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum

permittit. Ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumulti causa conscripserat, in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat; ipse equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans, appellat, hortatur, rogat, ut meminerint
5 se contra latrones inermis, pro patria, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis certare. Homo militaris, quod amplius annos triginta tribunus aut praefectus aut legatus aut praetor cum magna gloria in exercitu fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat:
10 ea commemorando, militum animos accendebat.

60. Sed ubi, omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreius tuba signum dat, cohortis paulatim incedere jubet, idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eo ventum est, unde [a] ferentariis proelium committi posset, maxumo
15 clamore [cum] infestis signis concurrunt: pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinae virtutis memores, comminus acriter instare; illi haud timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie vorsari, laborantibus succur-
20 rere, integros pro sauciis accersere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe hostem ferire; strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius ubi videt Catilinam, contra ac ratus erat, magna vi tendere, cohortem praetoriam in medios
25 hostis inducit, eosque perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentis interficit; deinde utrumque ex lateribus ceteros adgreditur. Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Catilina, postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis relictum videt, memor generis atque
30 pristinae suae dignitatis, in confertissimos hostis incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

61. Sed confecto proelio, tum vero cerneret quanta audacia quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinae. Nam fere quem quisque vivos pugnando locum
35 ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos medios cohors praetoria disjecerat, paulo

divorsius *alis alibi stantes*, sed omnes tamen advorsis
volneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis
inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam
spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivos, in
vultu retinens. Postremo ex omni copia neque in 5
proelio neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus captus
est : ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae juxta pepercera-

Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani laetam aut
incruentam victoriam adeptus erat : nam strenuissimus
quisque aut occiderat in proelio, aut graviter volner- 10
atus discesserat. Multi autem, qui e castris visundi
aut spoliandi gratia processerant, volventes hostilia
cadavera, amicum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum re-
periebant ; fuere item qui inimicos suos cognoscerent.
Ita varie per omnem exercitum laetitia, maeror, luctus 15
atque gaudia agitabantur.

NOTES.

Argument.

CHAP. I. Body and Spirit: the worth of each. — 2. The foundation of government: what is a true life? — 3. Sallust's motive in writing: the narrator no less than the actor of great deeds serves the state. — 5. The character of Catiline. — 6-9. Regal and consular Rome: the early valor and simplicity: comparison of Rome and Athens. — 10-13. Growth of power and luxury: Sulla's influence: corruption of the times after him. — 14-16. Catiline's profligacy and evil companions: his designs against the State. — 17. His plans and associates (B.C. 64). — 18, 19. His earlier designs, and how prevented (B.C. 66). — 20. Address to his associates. — 21, 22. His extravagant promises and oaths. — 23. Curius and Fulvia: her indiscreet reports. — 24. Catiline defeated at the polls: plans of armed insurrection. — 25. Sempronia. — 26. Catiline is baffled by Cicero: his second defeat. — 27, 28. His scheme of rousing Italy: Manlius at Fæsulæ. — 29-31. Action of the Senate: the general alarm. — 31, 32. Cicero's speech: scene in the Senate: Catiline quits Rome. — 33. Manlius's letter and appeal. — 34-36. Catiline appeals to Catulus: he joins Manlius. — 36-38. Condition of Rome: profligacy and ambition of the youth in the capital. — 39. Secret adherents of the plot. — 40, 41. Umbrenus tampers with the Allobroges. — 42, 43. Agitations in Italy: the conspirators Lentulus, etc. in Rome. — 44, 45. The plot is betrayed through the Allobroges to Cicero: arrest at the Mulvian bridge. — 46, 47. The conspirators interrogated, and put under arrest. — 48, 49. Charges made against Crassus and Cæsar. — 50. The matter is laid before the Senate. — 51. Speech of Cæsar, against a capital sentence. — 52. Reply of Cato. — 53, 54. These two men compared. — 55. The conspirators are strangled in the *Tullianum*. — 56, 57. Military plans of Catiline. — 58. His speech to his confederates. — 59. Disposition of the troops. — 60, 61. The battle: force of the conspirators exterminated.

PAGE

1. omnis homines . . . decet, it is fitting for all men to strive, etc. (for the acc. form in **is**, see §§ 51-55, 58; 84. *b*: a still earlier form is found in **eis**). In this sentence, the accusative **omnis homines** is the subject of **niti** (§ 240. *f*), and the clause **omnis . . . niti** is the subject of **decet** (§ 270. & *a*).

sese præstare, § 271. a: the subj. accus. is rarely expressed with this verb: it may be rendered as object, *set themselves at the head*.

student, aim to, are bent upon. — summa ope, with all effort. — ne . . . transeant (§ 331. & *e*), not to spend their life in silence.

silentio, § 248. Rem. — pecora, brutes, as devoid of reason: animal includes man (as implied in **ceteris**, above); **belua** is a monster, or the like. — **prona, grovelling,** i. e. with faces towards the earth. — **obœdientia, subservient, lit. hearkening (ob-audire),** as to a despotic master. — **finxit, has fashioned.**

animo, the *soul*, including both intellect, affections, and will. — **magis**, rather than the other way.

alterum . . . **alterum**, the *one* (soul) . . . the *other* (body).

ingeni, gen. (§ 40. *b*). — **opibus**, *resources*. — **quam maxume**, as much as possible (elliptic, for *as much as the most*).

fluxa, *fleeting* (passing away of itself) ; **fragilia**, *frail* (exposed to accident).

certamen, *controversy*. — **vi-ne** . . . **procederet**, *whether war advances more by force of body*, etc. Here an indirect question is introduced by the interrog. particles **ne** and **an** (§ 211) ; the verb **procederet** is in the subj. by § 334, and in the imperfect (following **fuit**) by the sequence of tenses (§§ 286, 287. *d*).

incipias, **consulueris**, subjunctive of general condition (§ 309. *a*). — **consulto**, **facto**, § 243. *e* : **consulto** refers to **animi**, and **facto** to **corporis** (chiastic order, § 344. *f*). — **mature facto**, *speedy action*. — **indigena**, *helpless*.

§ 2. **initio**, at the *beginning*. — **nam**, *i. e.* I say kings, *because*, etc. — **divorsal**, *variously* (§ 191) ; it is in appos. with both **pars** and **alii**, which are here correlative. — **ingenium**, *intellect*. — **exercebant**, *trained by exercise*.

etiam tum, *i. e.* even after kingdoms were established, and men no longer lived in the early simplicity. — **agitabatur** (more commonly **agebatur**), *was passed*. — **sua cuique**, etc. (the regular order), *each man was well satisfied with his own*.

Cyrus : Cyrus the Great (or the Elder), founder of the Persian Empire, B.C. 559. During his lifetime he brought all western Asia under his rule, and his successors conquered Egypt and parts of Europe.

Lacedæmonii. The Spartans were at the head of the Grecian States in the sixth century B.C., having conquered the Messenians and other neighboring communities. The leadership passed from Sparta to Athens after the Persian wars (B.C. 490–479), but was recovered by Sparta at the close of the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 404).

urbis, acc. plur. (§ 54. *i*, *ex*). — **lubidinem** (root LUB = love) . . . **habere**, to make the *lust of dominion a motive of war*. — **negotii** (*nec otium*), *difficulties*. — **plurimum posse**, *has chief power*.

animi virtus, *i. e.* both mental and moral excellence. Strictly, **mens** is the *intellect*, and **animus** the *soul* (moral powers) ; but — especially from the Socratic doctrine that virtue and knowledge are the same — **animus** oftener means all the higher faculties as opposed to the bodily functions.

ita valeret, *were as potent*. — **æquabilis**, *more uniformly* ; **constantius**, *more steadily*.

sese haberent, *would keep themselves* (i. e. move, or simply be). — **aliud alio ferri**, *this thing driven one way, and that another*.

2. artibus, qualities. — **superbia**, *arrogance*, opposed to **æquitate**, *equal justice*. — **fortuna**, etc., i. e. they became unlucky.

optimum quemque, i. e. in every case, every time a better man appears.

quæ (cognate acc.) . . . **parent**, *whatever ploughing, &c., men do, all is subject*. — **virtuti**, sc. **animi**.

dediti ventri, *given up to gluttony*. — **indocti**, *without knowledge; inculti, without breeding*.

sicuti peregrinantes, i. e. as if in a strange country, and ignorant of its laws. — **transiere**, § 279. c.

profecto, etc., *clearly against nature*. — **corpus** . . . **fuit**, *the body has been* [the source of] *pleasure, and the mind a burden* (dat. of service, § 233).

eorum ego, both emphatic. — **juxta**, *alike*. — **quoniam** . . . **siletur** (impersonal), *since both are lost in silence (oblivion); lit. silence-is-kept about both*.

verum enimvero, *but really*. — **is demum** (superl. of **de**), *he alone* (lit. *at last*; having gone through all the others). — **anima**, *breath of life*.

facinoris, in its rarer sense of *noble deed*. — **artis**, *profession* (as literature and the like). — **copia**, *variety*.

§ 3. **bene dicere**, *to speak well* (as an orator), a kind of play on the words **dicere** and **facere**. — **haud absurdum**, *not unbecoming* (a "litotes"), corresponding to **pulcrum**, *noble (beautiful)*.

pace, bello, loc. abl. (§ 254. a). — **clarum** (acc.) agrees with the subj. of **feri**, which is not expressed. — **qui multi**, *many* [of those] *who* (§ 216. e).

mihi quidem, *to me at least*. — **scribere**, *describe*. — **facta**, etc., *the deeds must be matched by the words*. — **dehinc** = **deinde**, *in the second place*.

quæ . . . **reprehenderis** (gen. cond.), *whatever faults you blame* = *all your censure of faults*. — **diota**: *spoken through ill-will and jealousy, agreeing with antecedent of quæ*.

quæ . . . **ducit**, i. e. *every man accepts what he thinks easy for himself to do*. The distributive (**quisque**) is in Latin generally put in the relative clause; in English, in the demonstrative.

adulescentulus, *when very young*. — **studio**, *by party feeling*: Sallust early allied himself with the popular party, headed by Julius Cæsar. — **ad rem publicam**, *into public life*.

pro pudore, etc., observe the parallelism. — **largitio**, *lavish gifts* to the multitude.

animus, *my better nature*. — **insolens**, etc., *a stranger to evil arts*.

imbēcilla ætas, age of weakness (lit. without staff), i. e. youth. — *tenebatur*, was possessed.

cum, while. — *moribus*, practices. — *honoris . . . eadem*, the same eagerness for public honors. — *eademque*, etc., and the same fame or jealousy troubled me as [did] the others.

3. § 4. *a republica procul*, aloof from politics. — *consilium*, my design. — *socordia*, indolence (of mind); *desidia*, sloth. — *bonum otium*, my happy leisure.

colundo, the regular spelling of the gerund in Sallust's time. — *intentum*, agreeing with the subj. (me) of *agere*.

sed . . . regressus, i. e. but going back to the same undertaking and pursuit from which, etc. (§ 200. *b*; for the use of the perf. part. see § 290. *b*). — *eodem*, to the same point, i. e. the same purpose and zeal: antecedent of *quo*.

carptim (§ 148. *e*), *piecemeal*, lit. picking out here and there. — *partibus* = *partisanship*.

paucis absolvam, I will acquit myself in a few words; lit. pay off, as a debt. — *de cujus hominis*, etc., a man of whose character, &c. — *prius . . . quam* = first . . . before.

§ 5. *Catilina*: His full name was Lucius Sergius Catilina. The Sergian gens, although of no distinction in history, was patrician, and therefore belonged to the oldest aristocracy. Virgil (*Æn.* v. 121) derives it from Sergestus, a companion of Æneas.

nobili, well known, from the same root (GNO) as *nosco*, meaning of high rank. — *ingenio*, etc., of a bad and perverse (wrong-headed) nature.

grata (§ 187. *b*), agreeing with *bella*, *cædes*, etc. — *ibi* (= in eis) . . . *exercuit*, in these he trained his youth.

corpus (sc. *ei erat*), etc., in body he was able to endure fasting, &c. (*inedia*, negative of *edo*, eat). — *supra quam*, beyond what: *supra*, with the other adverbs in *ra*, is a comparative form.

audax, reckless; *subdolus*, tricky; *varius*, versatile. — *cujus rei lubet* (= *cujuslibet rei*), of any thing you like (whatsoever).

simulator, feigning what is not; *dissimulator*, concealing what is (§ 188. *d*).

alieni appetens, craving [what was] other men's (§ 218. *b*). — *sapientiae*, discretion. — *vastus animus*, insatiate temper.

dominationem, autocracy (regularly used of unlawful power).

Luci Sullæ: the dictatorship of Sulla was B.C. 82. Catiline was one of his most unscrupulous tools, and a number of bloody deeds are ascribed to him, as the murder of his own brother and brother-in-law, and especially of M. Marius Gratidianus, a kinsman both of Cicero, and of the famous general Marius.

invaserat, had possessed. — *rei publicæ captundæ*, of getting

control of state affairs. — *neque . . . habebat*, nor had he any regard (§ 216. a³) in what way he should gain it, provided he won himself royal power.

in dies, from day to day. — *quæ utraque*, both of which (generally singular, as here). — *artibus*, practices.

incitabant, etc., he was further impelled by, etc., changing to passive to keep the emphasis. — *divorsa inter se*, different from each other (§ 196. f).

res ipsa, etc., the occasion (subject) itself seems to suggest.

4. *admonuit*, has reminded. — *supra repetere*, to trace further back. — *paucis* (abl. of manner), briefly.

domi militiæque, at home or in the field (§ 258. d). In this familiar phrase, *militiæ* (also *belli*) does not at all imply actual warfare, but is used by way of contrast with the regular order of things within the city walls, to describe the field over which the war power and the laws of war have authority. Within the city (*domi*) the *imperium*, or power of the magistrate to command, is limited by certain provisions which are designed to protect the liberty of the individual, and this is so even in war: outside of the city (*militiæ*) these limitations do not exist, but the magistrate, even in peace, possesses full war powers. Within the city, the limitations might be suspended by the Senate in cases of great urgency, by ordering *Videant [darent operam] consules*, etc. (p. 17). This was equivalent to declaring martial law.

habuerint, maintained. — *flagitiosissima*, most scandalous (same root as *flagro*, blaze: used of a burning shame).

§ 6. *urbem . . . condidere*, the city was founded and occupied by, etc. (see note to *incitabant*, § 5).

Trojani: it is interesting to notice how completely Sallust's account of the origin of Rome differs from that generally received, which we find in Livy and Virgil. Sallust says nothing of Romulus and Alba Longa, but speaks of Rome as founded immediately by Æneas.

profugi . . . vagabantur, roamed as exiles, with no fixed homes (abl. of qualification), i. e. driven from one place to another.

Aborigines = *indigenous*, i. e. natives. The Roman antiquarians made much confusion by supposing that this epithet of the native Latins was the name of an independent earlier race, which formed the Latins by uniting with the foreign Trojans.

agreste, uncouth. — *sine imperio*, i. e. with no master, or ruler. — *solutum*, unrestrained (by law).

una, plural (§ 83, 94. a). — *alii alio more*, in various ways (§ 203). — *quam . . . coaluerint*, interrog. clause, subj. of *est*.

res eorum, their state (commonwealth). — *civibus moribus*

agris aucta, *increased in population, institutions, and territory*. (When three or more words succeed one another in this way, a conjunction is either joined with *all* of them except the first, or more commonly with *neither* of them, as here.)

pleraque mortalium, *most human things*. (The style of Sallust is distinguished by the frequent use of the partitive genitive in preference to the simpler construction of agreement.)

habentur (= **se habent**, § III. N. 1), *are*.

temptare, *would attack*: *histor. infin.* (§ 275. & R.). extremely common in Sallust. — **pauci**, *only a few* (always with this negative force). — **aberant**, *kept aloof*.

intenti, *earnestly* (*bent upon their aim*). — **dandis**, etc., *abl. of means* (§ 301).

imperium, *supreme power*. — **legitimum**, *not legitimate, but controlled by law*. This famous passage, describing “a government of laws under the name of kingdom” may be very well applied to modern constitutional monarchies, like England.

regium, *that of king* (a kind of predicate: a possessive adjective is generally used in preference to the possessive genitive, § 190).

delecti, *chosen men* (§ 188. R.), agreeing with the antecedent of **quibus**, and subj. of **consultabant**.

corpus annis infirmum, in accordance with the etymology of Senate, as a body of *old men*; see Cicero, *Cat. Maj.* § 19.

patres, the term regularly applied to the senators; in this sense it could only be used in the plural. Strictly speaking, it applied only to the *patrician* senators.

regium imperium, *the rule of kings*. — **conservandæ libertatis**, i. e. *a means of preserving*, etc. (§ 298. R.). — **ei**, *nominative*.

superbiam, *arrogance*; **dominationem**, *tyranny*. — **immutato more**, *changing the method*.

annua imperia: the date assigned to this revolution is B.C. 509. The change consisted not in materially lessening the power which had been exercised by the kings, but in limiting it to a year and dividing it between two elected magistrates, called at first *prætors*, afterwards *consuls*. — **insolescere**, i. e. *acquire a lordly habit*.

§ 7. **se extollere**, *to aspire*. — **in promptu**, *ready for service*. — **regibus**, *emphatic*, as opposed to *consuls*. — **aliena virtus**, *other men's merit*.

§ 5. **adepta libertate**, *when freedom was won* (§ 135. b).

quantum brevi creverit: in point of fact it took the republic a long time to regain the height of prosperity enjoyed under the Kings. The entire first century of the republic was occupied with petty wars with neighboring states: after this the conquests went rapidly on. — **incesserat**, *had inspired* (lit. *come upon them*).

jam primum, *in the first place*: the contrast is in **sed ubi**, p. 6.

simul ac (§ 156. a), etc., i. e. at the age of 17. — **per laborem usu** (§ 246. b), *laboriously by practice*. — **decoria**, *handsome*. — **domuerat**, *overmastered*.

certamen, etc., *the chief rivalry of glory was among themselves*: it was not the foe's rivalry they feared. — **se quisque . . . ferire . . . properabat**, *each was eager that he should be the one to strike*, etc. (**se**, subj. of **ferire**). — **dum faceret**, *while performing* (subjunctive of intermed. clause, § 342).

eas, eam, *this* (referring to **ferire**, etc., but agreeing with the predicate, § 195. d). — **honestas** (opposed to **ingentem**), i. e. not great, as now, but *honorable*.

§ 8. **ex lubidine**, *according to her fancy*; **ex vero**, *according to justice*. — **celebrat**, *makes famous*.

satis amplæ, *quite grand*. — **verum tamen**, *in truth, however*.

provenere, *sprang up* (an agricultural term). — **scriptorum magna ingenia**, i. e. *writers of great genius* (Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon).

eorum qui fecere, *of the actors*. — **sua bene facta**, *his own worthy deeds*: **ab aliis** is placed next to **sua** for the contrast; **ipse** agreeing with the subject of **malebat**, because none is expressed to **narrare**. — **prudentissimus**, *ablest*.

6. § 9. **certabant de**, *vied in*. — **supplicia**, *prayers*.

artibus, *qualities*. — **audacia . . . sequitate**: observe the *chiasmic* arrangement (§ 344. f). — **vindicatum est in**, *chastisement was inflicted on* (see the case of T. Manlius Torquatus, told on p. 34).

vero, *on the other hand*. This exaggerated and rhetorical sketch of the "good old times" is drawn to point a moral for the age of the historian, and will not bear too critical inspection.

§ 10. **nationes feræ**, *barbarous tribes*; **populi ingentes**, *mighty nations*.

ab stirpe interiit, *perished root and branch*. This was B.C. 146, which date may be fixed on for the acknowledged supremacy of Rome throughout the Mediterranean. It was just at this time, too, that the internal convulsions began which destroyed the republic in the century that followed. The war of classes first came to open violence in the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus, B.C. 133.

qui . . . toleraverant, *those who had lightly borne toils, perils, circumstances of doubt and hardship*. — **eis**, antecedent of **qui**.

optanda alias, *desirable under other circumstances*.

materies, *source*: lit. *stuff* (the mother-substance) out of which any thing is made. Hence its usual meaning of *timber*.

artis (acc. plur.), *qualities*. — **deos neglegere** (same constr. with **superbiam** as obj. of **edocuit**, § 271. a) = *neglect of the gods*.

venalia habere, *to keep on sale*. — **edocuit**, the subj. is *avaritia*.

subegit, *drove on*. — **ex re**, *according to fact, truly*.

interdum vindicari (histor. infin.), *were now and then chastised*, as for example in Hannibal's campaigns. — **contagio**, etc., *infection as of a plague*. — **ex justissimo**, *from [being] the most just* (a regular use of **ex**).

§ 11. **exercebat**, *influenced*. — **quod . . . vitium**, *a fault which*. — **ignavus**, *worthless* (nom. sing. § 38. N.). — **ille**, sc. **bonus**; **huic**, **ignavo**.

vera via nititur (§ 254. b), *struggles up by the path of truth*.

7. dolis . . . contendit, *works his way by tricks and cheats*. —

habet, *has in it*. — **imbuta**, *infected*. — **effeminat**, *unmans*.

L. Sulla, see note, p. 46. For the manner in which he abused his victory, see Cicero's oration for Roscius of Ameria. Sulla's policy — afterwards imitated by Cæsar — was to distribute his soldiers throughout Italy, attaching them to him by grants of land. The soldiers thus colonized still remained soldiers, so that "these colonies formed, as it were, the standing army of the Senate."

bonis . . . habuit, *from a good beginning* (a loose abl. of manner) *made an evil end*.

neque . . . habere, *and in victory owned neither bound* (outward restraint) *nor moderation* (self-control).

huc accedebat quod, *and besides* ("to this was added that").

quo, § 317. b. — **liberaliter**, i. e. by giving them plunder. — **habuerat**, *had treated*.

amœna, *charming* (only in reference to the senses). — **in otio**, *in idleness*.

primum insuevit, in fact, these excesses were common in the Roman armies, long before the time of Sulla. — **amare**, *to intrigue*.

signa, *statues*; **tabulas pictas**, *pictures* (painted panels); **vasa cœlata**, *chased plate*. — **privatim**, *from individuals*; **publice**, *from cities*.

nihil reliqui fecere, *left no remnant*.

quippe . . . temperarent, *for prosperity overmasters the soul*, [even] *of the wise*; *much less* (**ne**, § 317. c, R.) *did they* [the veterans of Sulla] *with their corrupt morals* (descriptive abl.) *put any check on victory* (dat.).

§ 12. **honoris**, § 233. — **eas** (emphatic) in opposition to **virtus**. — **imperium**, *sovereign power*, or right to command; **potentia** (the most general word), *power* in its abstract sense. — **sequebatur**, *began to follow*. — **hebescere**, *to lose its edge, or keenness*.

innocentia pro malivolentia: i. e. those who refrained from wanton mischief were thought to do it only for the chance of attacking the others; as Macaulay says the Puritans abhorred bear-baiting, "not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators."

juventutem invasere, came upon the youth. — *rapere, etc.,* histor. infin. — *consumere, waste* (in riotous living). — *promiscua, without distinction.* — *nihil . . . habere, held nothing by weight or measure.*

operæ pretium est, it is worth while. — *domos atque villas,* such as the country-house of Gabinius described by Cicero in his oration for Sestius, and the superb estate of Lucullus near Naples.

verum, etc., the true reason is that they, etc. — *victis, dat.* (§ 229). — *injuriae licentiam, power to harm.*

victores, implying victis hostibus, and so loosely opposed to sociis.

S. proinde quasi, just as if! — *id demum, etc., that alone was to enjoy empire.*

§ 13. *subvorsos montis:* this alludes in particular to the great engineering works about Baiae (see Hor. Od. iii. 24); but the stock expression goes back to the works of Xerxes about Mount Athos and the Hellespont. — *constrata, filled up, lit. strewn with earth spread over the bottom, in vast dikes and causeways.*

ludibrio, mockery (object of jesting). — *lubido, etc., the passion of debauchery, gluttony, and other refinements of vice (cultus).* — *non minor, i. e. no less than avarice.*

in propatulo, in the market. — *vescendi, i. e. of luxuries for the table.* — *luxu antecapere, forestall by luxurious indulgence.*

familiares opes, i. e. their inherited wealth. — *imbutus, tainted.*

haud facile carebat, did not easily dispense with. — *eo profusius, all the more lavishly.* — *quæstui, money-getting; sumptui, extravagance.*

§ 14. *id quod* (§ 200. *e*), *as; (lit. a thing which).* — *stipatorum, satellites, who crowd about (stipare).*

patria laceraverat, had destroyed his patrimony. — *quo redimeret, so as to hire* (by contract or bribe). — *manus . . . sanguine, chiasitic.* — *postremo, in a word.* — *conscius animus, conscience.* — *usu, intercourse.* — *fluxi, plastic.* — *studium, passion.*

§ 9. *obnoxios, dependent.* — *cuiquam* (§ 202. *c*). used on account of the negative implied in the comparison. — *foret* (§ 341. *R.*), after *quam quod = non quod.* — *compertum, brought home.*

§ 15. *jam primum adulescens, in his very earliest youth* (emphatic: otherwise it would be *Catilina, etc.*). — *nefanda, abominable: lit. not to be spoken of (ne fari).*

sacerdote Vestæ: the six Vestal Virgins were maidens of noble family, consecrated to chastity and the service of Vesta, goddess of the Hearth. The one here mentioned was Fabia, sister-in-law of Cicero. "But Sallust should have added that Fabia was tried on the charge of *incestum*, and acquitted" (Long).

captus, *captivated*. — **cujus**, *in whom*. — **pro certo creditur**: no evidence, however, is found of this charge.

quæ quidem res, *and this very thing*. — **vastabat**, *desolated*. — **exsanguis**, *pallid*. — **foedi**, i. e. dull and bloodshot. — **prorsus**, *throughout*. — **vecordia**, *madness* (**ve**, negative; **cor**, *intellect*).

§ 16. **vilia habere**, *held cheap*. — **imperabat**, *imposed on them*. — **minus suppetebat**, *was not at hand*. — **scilicet** (*sarcastic*), *no doubt*. — **potius**, i. e. rather than be idle. These gratuitous crimes are probably an invention of malice; as were no doubt some others which Sallust does not report, for example that of his marriage with his own illegitimate daughter, said to have been made against him by Cicero. Sallust was now a young man of about twenty, and doubtless kept a lively recollection of the scandals of the time.

aes alienum, *debt* ("other men's money"). — **Sullani milites**, see note, p. 50. — **largius . . . usi**, *having spent their wealth too profusely*.

Cn. Pompeius: Pompey (whose military genius had been seen and encouraged by Sulla) was appointed by the Gabinian law, B.C. 67, to the command of the formidable war against the pirates, whose head-quarters were in Cilicia. This command gave him authority over all the fleets of the Mediterranean. In the following year the Manilian law, advocated by Cicero, gave him the further command of the war against Mithridates, in Asia Minor. It was in this year (B.C. 66) that Catiline's first "conspiracy" was formed, the intention being to get control of the government as consul on the approaching new year.

nihil sane intentus, *not at all in earnest* (in opposition). — **tutæ**, *undisturbed* (by war).

10. § 17. **Kal. Jun.** The consular election generally took place in July, so that this was a suitable time to begin electioneering.

L. [Julio] Cæsare, C. [Marcio] Figulo: L. Cæsar was a distant relative of the dictator, son of the consul of B.C. 90 (see oration for Archias), and uncle of the triumvir Mark Antony. This was B.C. 64, the year preceding Cicero's consulship.

singulos appellare, *to address individuals*. — **opes**, *resources*. — **imparatam**, i. e. *the unprepared condition of*. — **docere**, *to exhibit*.

eo, *to this meeting*. — **ordinis**, *rank* (see notes to Cicero's Select Orations, p. 19, on "The Roman Aristocracy.")

P. [Cornelius] Lentulus had been consul B.C. 71, but was expelled from the Senate the next year on account of his immoralities. He was elected to the prætorship for 63. Of the conspirators of high rank, Lentulus, says Mommsen, was "an ordinary aristocrat of big words and great pretensions, but slow in conception and irresolute in

action; Autronius distinguished for nothing but his powerful screaming voice; while as to Lucius Cassius, no one could comprehend how a man so corpulent and so simple had fallen among the conspirators. But Catiline could not venture to place his abler partisans, such as the young senator Caius Cethegus and the equites Lucius Statilius and Publius Gabinus Capito at the head of the movement; for even among the conspirators the traditional hierarchy of rank held its ground, and the very anarchists thought that they should be unable to carry the day unless a consular or at least a prætorian were at their head."

Cassius was, with Catiline and Cicero, a candidate for the consulship for B.C. 63. The two Sullas were nephews of the dictator. L. Vargunteius is called by Cicero (Cat. I. 9) *equus Romanus*; it was he and C. Cornelius that undertook to assassinate Cicero in his bed. Of the other conspirators nothing special need be said.

coloniæ, municipiis; colonies were established by the Roman government to serve as permanent military posts; *municipia* were Italian towns which had lost their original independence, been absorbed in the Roman State, and received Roman citizenship. At this time there was no longer any material difference between the two except in name. (See notes to Cicero, p. 5).

domi nobiles, *of rank at home*: however insignificant at the capital, they were leading men in their own communities.

occultius (adv.) limits **participes**, *more secretly sharing in*.

nobiles, noblemen: the Roman nobility consisted of those whose ancestors had held high offices of State. Thus Cicero, being a "new man" (*novus homo*), was not strictly a member of the nobility.

ceterum, further. — **quibus copia erat**, *who had means* (followed by *vivere*). — **quam**, *rather than* (following **magis**, contained in **malebant**, § 138. 3).

M. Licinius Crassus: a nobleman of high rank and enormous wealth, which he had got by speculating in real estate at the time of the terrorism of Sulla's proscriptions. He was possessed by an uneasy military and political ambition, and had won some credit as commander against the revolted slaves under Spartacus, B.C. 71. He managed to get into office by the influence of his money, and by allying himself with more competent men, as Pompey (B.C. 71 & 60) and Cæsar (B.C. 60). His inordinate ambition carried him at last into an enterprise too large for his powers, against the Parthian Empire, in which he lost his life, B.C. 53. His connection, as well as Cæsar's, with the reckless schemes of Catiline (see §§ 48, 49) is very doubtful, though believed by many scholars. It is not unlikely in itself, as both were ambitious and unscrupulous men, and knew, as Sallust says (§ 39), that the ablest and boldest man would in the end reap the fruits of the conspiracy: and that was Cæsar.

invisus : although Pompey and Crassus had joined hands and held the consulship together in B.C. 70, yet this was only a temporary suspension of their rivalry, and indeed the year was distracted by their discussions.

ductabat = dux erat. — **cujusvis**, *anybody's*. — **voluisse**, sc. **eum**, i. e. Crassus. — **illius**, Pompey's.

§ 18. **Catilina**, i. e. in B.C. 66. — **Tullo** : L. Volcatius Tullus and M'. Æmilius Lepidus were consuls, B.C. 66.

P. Sulla, not to be confounded with the conspirator of the same name, mentioned in the last chapter. This man too was a kinsman of the dictator, and a man of worthless character ; but his participation in the conspiracy was at any rate doubtful, and he was defended on the charge by Cicero, and acquitted.

designati consules, *consuls elect*, i. e. for B.C. 65. — **ambitus**, *bribery in elections (the technical term), from going about among the electors : hence the word ambition.* — **legibus**, *under the laws relating to ambitus.* — **interrogati**, *impeached*; a technical expression.

pœnas : this was a final and perpetual exclusion from office and from the Senate. After their conviction, their competitors, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, were elected in their stead.

pecuniarum repetundarum, lit. *of demanding back the moneys*, i. e. *for extortion* : the process by which the governors of provinces could be called to account by their oppressed subjects. The most notorious case is that of Catiline's friend Verres, B.C. 70. Catiline's extortions were as pro-prætor of Africa. — **reus**, *brought to trial*.

intra legitimos dies : notice of candidacy must be given within a *trinundinum* (17 days) of the election. This Catiline did ; but the consul Tullus refused to receive his name, on the ground of the impending charges, though no formal accusation had yet been brought. The expression is therefore not quite exact : he had offered himself at the proper time, but the act was not allowed as valid.

Cn. Piso, of the Calpurnian gens. — **cum hoc**, *with him*.

11. nonas Decembris : when Piso entered on the quæstorship (see next chapter). The Nones of every month, except March, May, July, and October, were the 5th, on these months the 7th. On the Nones of December the new quæstors entered on office, so that the interval between this day and the Kalends of January when the consuls, etc., took their seat, belonged in a sense to both political years.

in Capitolio : the inauguration of the new consuls took place on the Capitol, in the midst of a great concourse, with solemn formalities and the sacrifice of a white ox. Afterwards a meeting of

the Senate was held in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, also on the Capitoline; this was the formal opening of the new administration.

fascibus, *the fasces*, bundles of rods enclosing an axe; the regular instruments of punishment for Roman citizens, and hence the symbol of the chief power of State.

duas Hispanias: i. e. *Citerior* and *Ulterior*, separated by the Iberus, the old boundary between the Roman and Carthaginian territory. This was an important portion of the empire, and its possession was vigorously disputed between the parties of Marius and Sulla. The Marian commander, Sertorius, held Spain long after the rest of the empire had succumbed to Sulla.

nonas februarias, the 5th of February; really two or three months later, on account of the confusion of the calendar.

jam tum machinabantur, *by this time they began to plot.* — **maturasset**, *had been in too great haste.* — **frequentes**, *in any numbers.*

pro curia: the *Curia Hostilia*, on the north of the Forum, was the regular place of meeting for the Senate.

§ 19. **quæstor pro prætore**, *quæstor with the powers of prætor.* The prætors were judicial magistrates — at this time eight in number — who ranked next to the consuls, and could in case of need act in their stead. Like them, too, their power (*imperium*) was extended (*prorogatum*) a second year with executive functions in the provinces (*pro prætore*, *proprætor*). Occasionally, as in this case, inferior magistrates were invested by the Senate with the *imperium*, and sent *pro prætore* to govern provinces. The quæstors were officers of the lowest grade, who had charge of the treasury in the city, and the military chest abroad.

infestum, *troublesome, actively hostile.*

provinciam dederat: the Senate assigned the several provinces to the prætors. — **foedum**, i. e. regarding him as a nuisance at home.

boni (emphatic), the usual term to describe the *optimates*, or members of the aristocratic party. Pompey was at this time identified with the *populares*, or democratic faction.

in eo, i. e. *Piso.* — **jam tum erat**, *was now getting to be.* — **iter faciens**, *while on a march.*

veteres clientis: Pompey had great influence in Spain, from having commanded there, and brought the war against Sertorius to an end, B.C. 72. In Rome, clients were men of inferior rank, who voluntarily became the dependants and followers of some noble. But men of rank in a province or municipal town might stand in the relation of client to a powerful nobleman at Rome. This charge against Pompey would naturally come from a partisan of Cæsar, like Sallust; but it is without foundation.

imperia sæva : there were many examples of cruelty and perfidy on the part of the Roman rulers in Spain. On one occasion, at least, the Spaniards had in requital murdered a governor who was far less obnoxious than this Piso.

in medio relinquemus, *I will leave undetermined*. — **satis dictum** : and not much at that.

§ 20. **in rem fore**, *would be to the purpose*. — **univorsos**, *all together*. — **orationem** : the speech, of course, is fictitious, as usual in ancient historians.

¶ 1. **spectata**, *proved*. — **per ignaviam**, *through cowardice* (opposed to **virtus**) ; **vana ingenia**, *false hearts* (opposed to **fides**).

12. **captarem**, *grasp at*. — **tempestatibus**, *occasions*. — **eo**, *from this*. — **vobis . . . esse**, i. e. the peril and the hope are yours as much as mine. — **ea demum**, *this alone*.

¶ 2. **divorsi**, *separately*. — **nosmet vindicamus in libertatem**, *assert our own freedom* : an idiomatic expression, derived from the legal mode of freeing slaves by bargain and sale.

postquam, *ever since*. — **in paucorum . . . dicionem**, *to the jurisdiction and sway of a few strong men*. The republic had of late years come completely under the control of a few wealthy families (**nobiles**), so that men of low birth were almost excluded from a political career. Catiline, Lentulus, Cethegus, and Cassius, however, had no reason to complain of this, since they were all members of the oligarchy, and all of these but Cassius were patricians.

tetrarchæ, originally governors of the fourth part of a country, as of Thessaly and Galatia. The title came to be applied in general to petty princes, of not sufficient importance to be called kings.

vectigales, *tributary* : the provincial governorships were all in the hands of nobles, and they made use of them to squeeze out money from the provincials. There is also no doubt a reference to the bribes received by the governors.

esse, *histor. infin.* — **ceteri omnes**, *all the rest of us*. — **gratia**, *personal favor* ; **auctoritas**, *official (or political) influence*. — **res publica**, *the principles of the republic*.

judicia, *lawsuits*. — **inhonestam**, *dishonored*. — **alienæ . . . ludibrio**, *the sport of other men's insolence*.

¶ 3. **verum enimvero**, *but in truth*. — **cetera res expediet**, *the event shall provide the rest*. — **cui**, etc., *who has the spirit of a man*.

superare, *remain*. — **extrudendo mari**, see note, § 12. — **continuate**, *build in a row*.

larem : originally a deified ancestor, *lar familiaris*, the first ancestor, the founder of the house and its tutelar spirit. So cities had their *lares*, in their mythical founders : and the *lares compitales*

(of the *compila*, cross-roads) were the guardian spirits of the districts. To have no *lar familiaris* is therefore to have no home.

summa lubidine, with all their wantonness ("lust of the flesh, lust of the eyes, and pride of life"). — **vincere**, outstrip.

¶ 4. **quin**, interrog. in form, but really an emphatic appeal. — **en illa**, so then there is. — **præterea**, and besides. — **posuit**, has set up (as a prize: the regular word). — **belli spolia**, i. e. those that should be obtained by war.

13. neque . . . aberit, i. e. *I will be with you, body and soul.* — **consul**: Catiline intended to be again this year a candidate for the consulship. — **agam**, *I will discuss.*

§ 21. **res**, property. — **quieta movere**, disturb the peace. — **magna merces**, a great prize. — **condicio**, terms. — **opis**, resources.

tabulas novas, new settlements, that is, a general abolition of debts: the technical term for an arbitrary law, reducing or destroying debts by ordering a new account (*tabulæ*).

proscriptionem, strictly, advertising this property for sale; but since Sulla's time placarding their names for slaughter.

magistratus; i. e. the consulship, prætorship, curule ædileship, and quæstorship: these were called the patrician magistracies, and were almost exclusively held by members of the aristocracy. The tribunate is probably not included, as that was open to men of low rank at any rate.

sacerdotia: the chief priesthoods were the offices of *pontifex* and *augur*; but besides these, the *epulones*, seven in number, had the direction of the sacred feasts, and the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* were in charge of the Sibylline books, and had a dignity and influence which would be eagerly sought by greedy and ambitious men. The other priesthoods, which could be held only by patricians those of *rex sacrificulus*, *flamen*, etc., cannot be meant here. — **fert**, brings with it.

Pisonem: it would appear from this passage that he held command in Spain for some time before his assassination (see § 19).

Nucerinum, of *Nuceria*, in Campania, the regular way to express residence in Latin. Cicero (pro Sulla, § 58) defends him of the charge of complicity in the conspiracy, calling him *amicus vetus atque hospes*. "He was one of the *Condottieri* of those days, such a man as we read of in the Italian history of the fourteenth and fifteenth century" (Long). He fought on Cæsar's side in the civil war.

C. Antonium, the colleague of Cicero: son of the great orator, and uncle of the triumvir. He was a worthless character.

esse, infin. depending on the verb of *saying* implied in **polliceri**.

petere, was a candidate for (the regular term). — **circumventum**, hard pressed.

increpabat, assailed. — **nominans laudare**, extolled by name. — **suae**, referring to **alium**. — **compluris**, acc. — **ea . . . fuerat**, that [victory] had been [a source of] plunder (dat.).

postquam, as soon as. — **petitionem**, candidacy. — **curae**, dat.

§ 22. **popularis** (acc.), accomplices.

exsecrationem, an oath (containing a curse). — **dictitare** (historical infinitive), they say. — **quo . . . magia**, § 317. *b.* — **alius alii** (dat.), to one another.

invidiam, unpopularity, arising from his severity, especially in putting to death the leading conspirators without trial (see § 55).

14. poenas dederant, i. e. had been put to death. Punishment is regarded as of the nature of a *fine* or *forfeit*: hence **dare**, to suffer, and **sumere**, to inflict.

nobis (emphatic), § 232. *a.* — **pro magnitudine**, etc., is not sufficiently authenticated, considering its importance.

§ 23. **haud obscuro loco**: the Curii were an eminent plebeian gens. — **flagitiis coopertus** (= *coopertus*), buried in infamy.

censores: magistrates elected two at a time, theoretically once in five years, but in fact at quite irregular intervals. They held office for eighteen months, during which time they regulated the customs-duties and other finances of the State, and made out the list of the Senators, which regulations were to continue in operation until the next censors. The censors here referred to were probably Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius (B.C. 70), those by whom P. Lentulus had been expelled from the Senate (see note, § 17). — **probri gratia**, on the ground of scandal.

vanitas, folly (empty-headedness). — **prorsus**, and absolutely.

neque quicquam pensi habebat, "made no bones."

Fulvia: the Fulvii were an eminent plebeian gens.

cui . . . esset, and being less favored by her. — **inopia**, through poverty. — **maria montisque**, as we say "oceans of money" and "mountains of gold." — **obnoxia**, submissive. — **foret**, for **eris** of dir. disc.

sublato auctore, saying nothing of her authority. — **aestuabat**, chafed. — **pollui** = **pollutum iri**. — **stupri**, etc., an old intrigue.

homo novus; as distinguished from **nobilis**, one none of whose ancestors had held high magistracies. He who in any family first attained office was called *princeps nobilitatis*, and his descendants were *nobiles*.

invidia, jealousy. — **post**, in the background.

§ 24. **comitiis habitis**, when the elections were held. The chief magistrates were elected in the *comitia centuriata* (centuriate

comitia), in which the people voted by *centuries*, each century having one vote. The number of centuries is not certainly known, but was probably 373; and they were organized partly by wealth, partly by birth or residence, and partly by age. At this election the principal competitors of Cicero and Antonius were the conspirators Catiline and Cassius.

locis opportunis, § 258. *f.* — *fide*, on credit. — **sumptam mutam**, procured as a loan.

Fæsulæ, an old town in the extreme north of Etruria. Its ruins are still seen at *Fiesole*, on a very high and steep hill near Florence. This Manlius acted as Catiline's lieutenant until the arrival of his chief. He was an old soldier of Sulla, "as brave and as free from scruples of conscience as was ever any soldier of fortune."

stupro, by prostitution. — **toleraverant**, i. e. had been able to bear. — **tantum . . . fecerat**, had put a limit only to their gains, but not to their [passion for] luxury. — **servitia**, troops of slaves.

15. § 25. **Sempronia**, wife of Decimus Junius Brutus, and mother of D. Brutus Albinus, who was one of the conspirators against Cæsar.

genere, family: The Sempronii were a plebeian *gens* of great distinction; the Gracchi, among others, belonged to it. It may be noticed that this whole description of Sempronia seems out of place here, — foisted in, one might suspect, to gratify Sallust's grudge against the assassin of Cæsar.

psallere, etc., dependent on **docta**. — **probæ**, an honest woman. Perhaps the Roman dances were worse than ours; at any rate they were looked on with extreme disfavor by respectable people.

minus parceret, was less careful of. — **haud discerneres**, you could not have told (§ 266. e, 331. R.).

creditum abjuraverat, had denied a trust on oath. — **haud absurdum**, by no means contemptible. — **molli, procaci**, i. e. the affected "soft" or "fast" talk of gallants.

§ 26. **in proximum annum**, for the new year, i. e. B.C. 62.

designatus, elected: the consul elect enjoyed much of the dignity and influence of an actual magistrate. — **ex voluntate**, at his will. — **illi**, Cicero.

pactione provinciæ: the procedure in the assignment of provinces (established by a law of Caius Gracchus) was that the Senate first selected two for the consuls to govern after their term of office as proconsuls (*pro consulibus*): the consuls then drew lots for these, and the prætors for those remaining. On this occasion, Cicero drew Macedonia, one of the wealthiest and most desirable of the provinces, and Antonius Cisalpine Gaul. By making an exchange, Cicero gained over his colleague to coöperate against Cati-

line : he himself then declined to take his province, preferring to remain in Rome.

perpulerat, *had prevailed on* (with difficulty) ; **ne sentiret**, *not to side with* (a common word, for political views ; so **sententia**, *vote*).

dies comitiorum : this was Oct. 28 ; the consuls elect were D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena. — **foeda**, *ill-starred* (of evil omen), like **obscœnum**.

§ 27. **Camertem**, the adjective (irregular) of *Camerinum*, a town of Umbria : it was close to the Picene territory, which lay on the Adriatic.

16. **præterea . . . credebat**, *and such persons, besides, to one place and another, as he thought would be of service to him*.

tendere, fig. from spreading-nets. — **cum telo esse**, *went armed* (a technical phrase). — **item**, i. e. to do the same.

intempesta nocte, *at the dead of night* : it was Nov. 6 (this year about the middle of January). This occurrence is given here out of its place ; it should not come in until after the events narrated in the first half of chap. 51.

oppressisset : in dir. disc. **oppressero** (§ 307. c).

§ 28. **Senator** : Cicero (Cat. I. § 9) calls Vargunteius an *eques*, perhaps because he had been elevated by Sulla among his creatures, compare note to § 17. — **siculi**, *just as if*.

salutatum : it was the custom for Roman noblemen to hold receptions early in the morning, for the purpose of attending to various business and receiving the greetings of their clients.

dolore injuriæ, *resentment at wrong*. The people of Etruria had been largely dispossessed of their lands by Sulla, to enable him to provide for his veterans.

novarum rerum, *change*, i. e. *revolution*, compare **novandi**, § 50.

§ 29. **ancipiti**, *double-headed* (**amb-caput**). — **longius** = **diutius**. — **neque satis compertum habebat**, *and had not fully ascertained* (§ 292. c).

17. **rem . . . refert**, the technical expression for bringing business before the Senate.

in atroci negotio, i. e. when some act of extreme severity is to be done.

decrevit, *ordered* : the formula that follows is that regularly used for intrusting the consuls with dictatorial power. It was equivalent to declaring martial law. (See note, § 5. The words of the decree are directly copied, with change of tense : hence the conj. **ut** is not used.)

ea potentia, etc., *thus a power, &c.* ; **maxima** being strictly a kind of predicate.

judicium summum, *the final appeal* in question of right.

nullius earum rerum: this is not exact. It was only *domi*, "within the city," that the power of the consul was thus limited; "abroad" (*militiæ*), he regularly possessed all that power by virtue of his office (*jussu populi*). The decree only gave the same power at home that he already had abroad. All the real force therefore of the description here given is summed up in *coercere civis, domi imperium, etc., habere*.

§ 30. *ante diem vi*, i. e. Oct. 27. — *id quod*, *as*.

portenta: the Romans were excessively superstitious in such matters. In fact, their whole polity rested on the *auspices*; and the *portents* interpreted by these were often the most insignificant accidents.

conventus, *meetings* of any kind: here, secret meetings of conspirators, probably in the country districts of Italy, where there was an old jealousy of Rome. In Capua, especially, the second town in Italy, and the old rival of Rome, constantly deprived of all effective self-government by the jealousy of Rome (see Cicero's Second Oration on the Agrarian law), there would be a readiness to throw off Roman rule. Apulia was a grazing country, consisting in the main of public land, which was rented to capitalists, and left in charge of gangs (*familia*) of slaves.

moveri, *was stirred up*. — **senati**, old gen. (§ 70. a).

Q. Marcius Rex, cos. 68; **Q. Metellus Creticus**, cos. 69: he was the fast friend of Verres at the time of his trial the year before.

circum (here equivalent to an adjective), *the places around*.

ad urbem, *near the city*: not in it, because as *imperatores* they could not enter the city without losing their right to a triumph. They had, as proconsuls, governed provinces after the expiration of their consulship (Rex had Cilicia and Metellus Crete), and had returned home with sufficient military success to warrant the honor of a triumph. This was hindered, however, *calumnia paucorum* (especially of Pompey, who regarded them as his lieutenants in virtue of the Gabinian and Manilian Laws), and they were waiting for the matter to be decided. If they entered the *pomærium*, or city enclosure, their prorogued *imperium*, or military command, would expire by that very act. They remained therefore in the neighborhood (*ad urbem*) with their armies, and attended to necessary public business by summoning the Senate to meet them in some temple outside the walls.

prætores, sc. **missi sunt**.

Pompeius, an unimportant character; **Celer**, a prominent member of the aristocracy, cos. B.C. 60: he died the year following.

ut earlier form of **ut** (probably an old locative). — **pro . . . periculo** = *considering the peril of the time*.

ad hoc, besides : supply **decrevere**, from below. — **indicavisset**, for **indicaverit** of direct disc. — **facta erat**, § 336. *b.* — **præmium**, as a reward, belonging to both **servo** and **libero**.

sestertia : a *sestertium* = 1000 *sestertii*, about \$50 : the sum is therefore about \$10,000.

gladiatoriae familiae, bands of gladiators. The gladiators were slaves, who were trained in schools to the profession of prize-fighters. They were owned by persons who furnished them for pay. Capua was a head-quarters of this business.

pro cuiusque opibus : i. e. they were billeted on the towns in proportion to their wealth.

minores magistratus : this term is sometimes applied to all magistrates below the prætors, i. e. the ædiles, tribunes, and quæstors. Here, however, it probably means a lower grade still, especially the *tres viri capitales* or *nocturni*, who had charge of the police.

§ 31. **civitas**, i. e. the citizens ; **urbis**, i. e. the city itself.

diuturna quies : i. e. since the great civil war of Marius and Sulla, the last outbreak of which was B.C. 78, fifteen years before.

omnis, acc. plur.

festinare, etc. (histor. infin.), § 206. *b.*

18. adflictare sese, would beat their breasts. — **miserari**, bewail (the fate of).

lege Plautia, sc. **de vi** ; a law passed B.C. 89, which formed the basis of all later legislation upon the punishment of public disturbances. Such cases were tried in one of the special courts (*quæstiones*).

L. Paulo : L. Æmilius Paulus, son of the democratic consul, M. Lepidus (B.C. 78), and brother of the triumvir. He was himself a strong aristocrat. This trial *de vi* never came off.

sicubi . . . foret, in case he should be attacked (slandered) in a personal quarrel (he wished to make an explanation).

M. Tullius, sc. Cicero. — **orationem** : this was the first oration against Catiline : the date was Nov. 8, B.C. 63. — **quam . . . edidit**, which he afterwards wrote out and published (as was the custom).

ut erat paratus, ready as he was. — **demisso voltu**, with face downcast.

patribus, a general expression for the senators, strictly belonging only to those of patrician birth.

temere, hastily. — **ea, ita**, both correlative to **ut**. — **ortum**, sc. **se esse**. — **in spe**, in expectancy. — **cujus ipsius**, on whose own part, etc. (gen. limiting *beneficia*).

perdita republica opus esse, there was need of destroying the republic (§ 292. *a*).

inquinus appears to be the adjective of **incola** (**qu** = **c**), an im-

migrant, one who had his *domicilium* in some other than his native city. (Kuhn, *Verf. des Römischen Reichs*, i. p. 5.) Cicero was born in Arpinum, and had gone to Rome to live. Still he was in no true sense an *incola*, because Arpinum had possessed Roman citizenship since B.C. 188.

obstrepere, *drowned his voice*.

parricidam: this word (derived from *pater cædo*) was precisely equivalent in meaning to our *parricide*. In familiar speech, however, the term was extended to all crimes which were tried by the same court as parricide. Crimes of violence were in early times punished by money fines, and it would appear that the horrible crime of murder of a parent was for some time the only one which received a heavier punishment. The process against parricide proper was by degrees extended to common murder, and even other crimes of a religious nature. "The most important point [in the development] was without doubt that in which an end was put to all vengeance by blood, by introducing the process of parricide against every one charged with homicide" (Rubino, *Untersuchungen über Römische Verfassung und Geschichte*, p. 464).

incendium . . . restinguam, i. e. *I will stop my own house from burning by tearing down my neighbors' houses*.

§ 32. **curia**: the Senate met regularly in the *Curia Hostilia*, on the north side of the Forum.

neque (correl. to **et**), *on the one hand, not*. — **insidiæ consuli**, *plots against the consul* (§ 227. d). — **proceedebant**, *made any headway*.

legiones scriberentur: of course the regular legions of the year had been levied long before; this refers to the new levies to be raised by Pompeius and Metellus Celer (§ 30).

promptam (pro emo), *ready*: i. e. taken out of the store and ready for distribution by the steward (*promus*).

19. **prope diem**, *at an early day*. — **sese adcessurum**, dependent on the verb of *saying* implied in **mandat**.

§ 33. **mandatis**, *message*. — **feneratorum**, *usurers*. Extravagant young men of good family were then, as now, the prey of money-lenders.

patriæ expertes, probably a loss of citizenship by reason of insolvency. It may also refer to voluntary exile.

neque cuiquam, etc. The laws of debt in Rome, as well as in Greece, were very harsh: the delinquent debtor was adjudged (*ad dictus*) to his creditor, to be treated by him as a slave. This severity was mitigated by the *Lex Patelia*, B.C. 326 or thereabout, but was not entirely removed until a bankrupt act, *Lex Julia*, of a period later than Sulla. In all such cases a good deal was left to the discretion of the magistrate, the prætor: the complaint here is

that the strictness (*sævitia*) of the prætor — i. e. the *prætor urbanus*, the judge in cases between citizens in administering the laws — did not allow the debtor to take all the advantages (*lege uti*) permitted by custom (*more majorum*): so that they were left to the rigor (*sævitia*) of the creditors. These not only took their estate (*amisso patrimonio*), but their personal freedom (*liberum corpus habere*).

opitulati sunt (OPI TUL in *tollo, tuli*), *came to the relief*: this appears to refer to the laws of C. Gracchus and others, by which corn was sold to the poor at a rate below cost.

novissumæ, *very lately*: a law passed by L. Valerius Flaccus, successor of Marius in the consulship, B.C. 86, provided that debts should be cancelled by the payment of a fourth of their value; that is, the silver *sestertius* should be paid with a copper as (*argentum ære*); the *sestertius* being equal to four *asses*. To say that this was done *volentibus omnibus bonis*, seems like a huge joke.

sæpe . . . secessit, *the plebs many times withdrew in arms*, etc. This was done three times. The first time (B.C. 494) their demands were satisfied by the institution of their special magistrates, the tribunes; the last time (B.C. 287) by the Hortensian Law, which gave to votes of the *plebs* (*plebi scita*) the force of laws.

consulatis, following *obtestamur*, § 331. *f*, R. — **maxume ultî**, etc., i. e. *having sold our lives most dearly*.

§ 34. **ea**, correl. with **ut**: *of such gentleness and mercy*. — **peti-verit**, § 287. *c*.

consularibus, *ex-consuls*. An ex-magistrate always retained the rank of the office which he had held, as *consularis*, *prætorius*, *ædilicius*, etc. These constituted a body of men of influence, apart from the rest of the Senate.

ex itinere, *on the road*. — **litteras**, *a letter*, i. e. a circular. — **optimo cuique**, *to all the best men* (in position).

Massiliam, *Marseilles*, a very ancient Greek colony in Gaul, always in the closest and friendliest relations with Rome. It was a favorite place of exile for those who were banished from Rome or left it voluntarily to escape severer punishment. Catiline, however, had no notion of going thither.

20. proficisci, *was setting out*. — **non quo** (§ 341. R.), *not that he was conscious, &c.*, nor (*neve*) *that*, etc.

Catulus: Q. Lutatius Catulus was the acknowledged leader of the senatorial or aristocratic faction, and second to none in purity and uprightness of character. He was consul B.C. 78, with M. Lepidus (see note, § 31), whose democratic schemes he successfully resisted. His father, of the same name and similar reputation, was consul with Marius, B.C. 102, and gained with him the great victory over the Cimbri the next year: he was afterwards assassinated by command of Marius in the civil war, B.C. 87.

longe divorsas litteras, a very different letter. — **redditas**, delivered: the regular word for the delivery of a letter, the bearer having first received it. — **earum exemplum**, a copy of this.

§ 35. **Catulo**: the regular way of addressing a letter, usually with **S.** (*Salutem*), **S. D.** (*Salutem dicit*), or the like.

egregia . . . tribuit, your singular fidelity, known [to me] by experience [re] — a grateful thing to me in my great perils — gives confidence to my appeal.

in novo consilio, before a strange tribunal, i. e. the Senate: an adroit stroke, and good law too; for the Senate had no judicial power, while Cicero had really made it the judge.

non statui, I have not made up my mind.

satisfactionem, explanation (not a formal defence).

conscientia de culpa, consciousness of guilt. — **proponere**, put forward.

me dius fidius, sc. **juvet**, by my faith. **Dius** (= *deus*) **Fidius**, the spirit of faith, perhaps a Latin translation of the Sabine *Semo Sancus*, had a temple on the Quirinal hill, and was commonly appealed to by the Romans in oaths.

statum . . . obtinebam, I could not maintain the position due to my rank, — a somewhat loose reference to the consulship, which his position entitled him to, and which might be considered his political *status*, by losing which he became degraded.

miserorum, i. e. insolvent debtors: always a numerous class, and a very important one in revolutionary politics.

meis nominibus, my own debts, i. e. in my own name. The plural is explained by the name being on the books of the several creditors.

alienis nominibus, others' debts, i. e. for which he had been security, and which Orestilla seems to have paid from her own and her daughter's means.

non dignos (stronger than **indignos**), i. e. such men as Cicero.

honore honestatos, honored with honors (of office). This alliteration affects the antique style. — **alienatum**, set aside.

hoc nomine, etc., on this ground I have attained hopes lofty enough for my circumstances.

plura: these words show that the letter was written, or at any rate was to be understood as being written, in Rome.

cum vellem, while wishing.

trado, I recommend. — **defendas**: this form (2 pers. pres. subj.) is rarely used, as here, of a definite subject: perhaps it is archaic or colloquial.

per . . . rogatus, i. e. I appeal to you in the name of your own children. — **haveto**, § 144. *f.*

§ 36. **ipse**, i. e. in person, opposed to the letter.

Arretino, of Arretium, *Arezzo*, an old Etruscan town in north-eastern Etruria, the birth-place of Mæcenas. Like many other Etruscan towns, it was severely treated by Sulla, and the Flaminius here mentioned is likely to have been one of Sulla's colonists. The *ager* was a district of land, usually around and belonging to a city.

sollicitatam, i. e. canvassed for soldiers. — **armis exornat**, furnished with arms.

fascibus: these were the symbol of the full military *imperium* (see note, § 18). Taking the *fascēs* with him was, therefore, the assumption of the signs of authority, like a proconsul or proprætor, and hence open rebellion.

hostis judicat, declares public enemies, the technical outlawing of rebels and traitors.

quam refers to **diem**, which is often feminine in this sense (§ 73).

sine fraude, without harm (the original sense of the word: compare *frustum*, *frustra*). — **ab armis discedere** (techn.), to lay down their arms.

imperium, state: here so called because of its great extent and supremacy. — **cui cum . . . parerent**, . . . **adfluerent**, for though all things submitted to it, and ease and wealth abounded, &c.

21. quæ, things which. — **fuere tamen** (emph.), still there were, &c.

perditum irent, went to ruin (a frequent old use of the supine with *ire*, surviving chiefly in the future infin. passive).

namque (poetic) = **etenim**. — **duobus decretis**, in consequence of two decrees (a loose abl. of cause, or possibly locative).

inductus, supply **quisquam**, from below. — **vis morbi** = violent disease.

§ 37. **illis**, i. e. those mentioned before. — **aliena**, hostile. — **omnino**.

cuncta plebes, the entire lower class generally. — **adeo**, in fact.

invidet: the subj. is the antecedent of **quibus**. — **suarum rerum**, of their own condition.

turba . . . aluntur, make their living by disturbance and riot, without anxiety (risk). — **egestas . . . damno**, beggary sits light on them, since it brings no loss.

urbana plebs, the mob of the streets, opposed to the *plebs* generally, as a political body. — **vero**, simply emphasizes *ea*, that. — **præceps**, reckless.

primum: the classes here mentioned are, 1. great rascals seeking a wider field; 2. those driven from home by poverty; 3. fugitives from justice.

præstabant, were foremost.

patrimonii amissis = **qui patrimonia amiserant**. To part with the family estate was looked upon as a great disgrace.

flagitium, facinus, *crime of scandal (lust) or violence*.

sicut in sentinam, *as into a sink (of iniquity)*. The figure is of a cesspool, into which all gutters lead.

gregariis, *of the herd*, i. e. common. This refers to Sulla's veterans. Sulla had filled up the number of the Senate—sadly reduced by the massacres and losses of the civil war—with persons of lower rank, among them some of his own officers. This will perhaps explain the senatorial rank of such ruffians as Vargunteius (see note, § 17), and also the fact that he is called by Cicero simply *eques*.

regio . . . cultu, *in regal style and splendor*. — **si . . . foret** (§ 342), subj. following the implied infinitive (*fore*) after *separabat*.

manuum mercede, *with the wages of (manual) toil*.

largitionibus, i. e. the sales of corn at reduced rates (see note, § 33), the public games, feasts, etc. A familiar example of what a countryman might expect by migrating to Rome is found in the will of Julius Cæsar, who bequeathed to the Roman people his gardens beyond the Tiber, and to each citizen the sum of three hundred sesterces (about fifteen dollars).

eos . . . alebat, *these were fed by*, etc.

mirandum est: the subj. is the clause **homines . . . consu-luisse**. — **rei publicæ**, etc., i. e. were as reckless about the affairs of the public as their own.

quorum parentes, etc., *those whose parents had been proscribed, whose goods plundered*, etc.

proscripti: when Sulla was master of Rome, B.C. 82, he was in the habit of *proscribing* (posting up) the names of those of the opposite faction whom he wished to have put to death: whoever then should kill them was entitled to a reward amounting to about \$2000. The property of the proscribed was confiscated (*bona erepta*), and themselves and their children deprived of political privileges (*jus libertatis imminutum*).

haud sane alio animo, *with no very different feeling*.

aliarum atque senatus (§ 156. a), i. e. opposed to the Senate.

22. id adeo . . . revorterat, *thus that evil* (the crushing of the popular party by Sulla) *had after many years returned to plague the state*.

§ 38. **Pompeio, Crasso**, *cons.* B.C. 70. One of the chief acts of their consulship was the restoration of the exorbitant power of the tribunes (*tribunicia potestas*), which had been curtailed by Sulla about ten years before (see note to Cic. Verr. I. § 44). The tribunes, ten in number, must be of plebeian birth, and were elected in the

plebeian assembly of the tribes. They had the power of forbidding almost any public proceeding, and of holding assemblies of the plebeians, which passed laws for the whole people (see note, § 33), and imposed fines.

summam potestatem, not *imperium*. The tribunes had no *imperium*, or supreme authority to command; their *potestas*, or political power, was, however, in some respects even greater than that of the consuls. They could seize and imprison any person even a magistrate, while they themselves were *sacrosancti*, and therefore their persons could not be touched. It may be noticed that this restoration of the tribunician power was only four years before the first conspiracy of Catiline.

quibus ætas, etc., i. e. in the flush of youth and spirit (*hendiadys*).

senatus specie, under a show of devotion to the Senate. — **pro**: i. e. but in fact for their own advancement.

honestis nominibus, honorable pretences. — **alii sicuti**, etc.; **pars quo**, etc.; the two parties, *optimates* and *populares*.

§ 39. **Pompeius**, see § 16. — **bellum maritimum**, i. e. against the pirates, under the Gabinian Law, B.C. 67. During his absence there was a revival of political excitement, with excesses on both sides; Sallust, as an adherent of the popular party, mentions only the arrogance of the aristocracy (*ei*, etc.).

ipsi innoxii, themselves unmolested: a less common but apparently the original meaning of the word (§ 164. *m*. The termination *ius*, original *ya*, seems to have regularly a passive force: thus **noxius**, liable to a penalty, hence guilty, and so harmful).

ceteros . . . **terrere**, while they overawed by [threats of] *prosecutions* those of the other party (the *populares*), so as to deal more at their ease with the people while in office. Prosecutions could be brought by any person, and they were constantly used as engines of political or personal hostility.

dubilis rebus (loc. abl.), in dangerous circumstances. — **novandi**, sc. *res*, making a revolution.

vetus certamen, etc., the old quarrel roused their passions, i. e. of the leaders of the opposite or popular party (*ceteros*). The object of the *optimates* (*paucorum*) seems to have been to overawe their opponents, or wear them out with incessant prosecutions, — the same course which the party in power has so often followed towards the opposition newspapers in Paris. But as soon as the crisis came (*dubiis rebus*), and there seemed a chance for making a stir (*novandi*), the popular leaders eagerly took up the old quarrel.

quod si . . . **discessisset**, now if Catiline had come off the better in his first battle. — **profecto**, no doubt.

neque . . . extorqueret, *nor could they* (the *populares*), *if they had gained the victory, have enjoyed it long, but that, worn out and bled to death, the strongest man would wrest away at once their power and their freedom*, — the natural history of seditious insurrection in all ages. "The strongest man" in this case proved, twenty years later, to be Julius Cæsar.

tamen, *notwithstanding* the evil effects that would follow from his victory.

necari: a most extraordinary example of the *patria potestas*, or father's authority. The Roman *paterfamilias* possessed remarkable authority over his family: he "has over his children the *jus vita necisque*, the power of life and death, and a *fortiori* of uncontrolled corporal chastisement; he can modify their personal condition at pleasure; he can give a wife to his son; he can give his daughter in marriage; he can divorce his children of either sex; he can transfer them to another family by adoption; and he can sell them" (Maine, *Anc. Law*, p. 133). This enormous power extended to all sons with their families, and to unmarried daughters. The married daughters were transferred to a like sovereign jurisdiction held by their husbands. Of course, the progress of manners made the actual exercise of this theoretical power extremely rare. In fact it was practically abolished long before it ceased to exist in theory.

23. alios, antecedent of **quoscumque**. — **quod modo foret**, *provided only it were*, etc. (§ 320. d').

§ 40. **Umbreno cuidam**, *one Umbrenus* (contemptuously), a freedman.

Allobrogum, a tribe of Gauls between the Rhone and the Alps (see Cæsar's *Gallie War*). Their territory was conquered, B.C. 121, and formed a part of the Province of *Gallia Transalpina* or *Narbonensis*. They were embarrassed with debt, and their ambassadors were now in Rome trying to get relief from the misgovernment of the Roman officials.

societatem, *alliance in*.

negotiatuſ erat, *had been in ousiness*: chiefly that of money-lending. The *negotiatores* were money-brokers in the provinces, corresponding to *ſenerator*es and *argentarii* in Rome. — **noverat**, *knew* (had become acquainted with).

civitatis, *of their ſtate*; **ejuſ caſum**, *its evil caſe*.

magiſtratuſ, the provincial magiſtrates, prætor, quæſtor, etc. Provincial governors were notorious for their exactions and oppreſſions. — **ſenatuſ**, ſc. **Romanuſ**.

rationem, *a plan*. — **qua effugiatiſ** (§ 317), ſubj. of purpoſe.

iſta mala, *thoſe illſ you ſpeak of*.

quod . . . essent (§ 319), subj. of result. — *facturi*, ready to do; *dum*, provided.

D. Brutī, see note, § 21. — *aliena consili*, unfavorable to the plan. — *propter Semproniam*, i. e. through her influence (see § 25). *sermoni*, in his words.

innoxios, innocent (cf. note above). — *quo . . . esset*, that the deputies' courage might be increased (§ 317. b). — *pollicitos operam suam*, after they had promised their efforts (§ 292).

§ 41. *quidnam . . . caperent*: the question is emphasized by *nam*, as by an emphatic *should* in English: direct disc., *what plan shall we adopt?*

in altera parte, on one side. — *merces*, prize.

maiores opes, more money, which they would get as reward for information, as compared with the cancelling of their debts by revolution; *tuta consilia*, opposed to *studium belli*.

hæc illis volventibus (abl. abs.), while they balanced thus.

patrocinio, see notes to Cicero's Orations, p. 73. The patronate over a conquered nation was usually held by the conquering commander, and often remained in his family. This Fabius Sanga, of whom nothing is known, was of the same *gens* with Q. Fabius Allobrogicus, the conqueror of the Allobroges.

24. *studium*, zeal for the conspiracy. — *bene polliceantur*, should promise fair. — *dent operam*, exert themselves. — *quam . . . habeant*, have their guilt as clear as possible (*manu fendo*, hit with the hand; hence put the hand on any thing, catch in the overt act: a word referring to direct as opposed to circumstantial evidence).

§ 42. *Bruttio*, sc. *agro*; the extreme south-west of Italy. — *motus*, outbreak.

dimiserat (*dis mitto*), had distributed, sent armed to different places. — *simul*, at once. — *consiliis*, abl. of means. — *timore*, alarm.

causa cognita, having examined the case (the technical word for official investigation). — *vincula*, chains, i. e. prison.

in ulteriore Gallia, i. e. *Narbonensis*. The *legati* were aids of the commander, or members of his staff, and might hold command in his absence, by delegation of his authority.

C. [Licinius] *Murena*, brother of L. Murena, consul elect, in behalf of whom Cicero afterwards delivered one of his most famous orations.

§ 43. *videbantur*, § 330. a¹.

L. [Calpurnius] *Bestia*, called a Senator, § 17. As he did not enter upon his tribunate until Dec. 10, there seems some mistake here. It must have been known long before there that Catiline arrived at Fæsulæ.

contione, a *contio* was a public assembly for the purpose of dis-

cussion only, voting being done in the *comitia*. It was called and presided over by a magistrate, and none could speak without his permission.

eo signo, at that signal (abl. of means). — **conjuratio** = **conjuratorium**.

suum quisque negotium, each his own part, as defined below.

quo tumultu = that by the disturbance thus caused. — **alius alium**, sc. **adgrederetur**.

fili familiarum, as long as the father lived, the sons and unmarried daughters were under his *patria potestas* (see note, p. 69), unless emancipated by a peculiar and complicated process. These *fili familiarum* may therefore have been themselves married men and "fathers of a family" in our sense of the term.

perculsis, *paralyzed*.

decreta, not *decrees*, but *decisions*.

dies prolatando, by *deferring the day* of executing the plot: it was put off until the day of the Saturnalia, Dec. 19. The occurrence of §§ 42 and 43 appears to have been in November, while the negotiations with the Allobroges were going on.

corrumpere, *were spoiling*. — **facto**, *action* (§ 243. e). — **adjuvant**: dic. disc. **adjuvetis** (§ 307. f).

25. § 44. **per Gabinium**, § 246. b. — **conveniunt**, *meet* (have interviews with).

jus jurandum, that is, an agreement signed on oath. — **signatum**, with their seals, the regular way of authenticating documents.

eos = *civis*, subj. of **posse**.

dant, sc. **jusjurandum**. — **semet**, *in person*. — **eo**, i. e. to Gaul, and vouch personally for his participation.

Crotoniensem: Crotona was a Greek city on the southern coast of Italy, which had received a Roman Colony. — **pergerent**, *go directly*. — **fide**, *pledge*.

fac cogites, *do reflect*, emphatic and colloquial. — **rationes**, i. e. the success of your plans.

ab infimis, i. e. the slaves. The Romans had had several awful experiences of servile insurrections, and nothing would bring the conspiracy into such bad odor as any suspicion of this sort. (Compare the letter as given by Cicero, Cat. III. § 12.)

ad hoc, *in addition*. — **verbis**, *in words* (abl. of manner).

§ 45. **constituta nocte**, Dec. 2 by the calendar; in fact, about the middle of February.

L. Flacco, son of the consul of B.C. 86 (see note, § 33); he governed the province of Asia, as *proprætor*, and was successfully defended by Cicero on a charge of *repetundæ* (extortion, see note, § 49).

ponte Mulvio, over the Tiber about three miles north of Rome : it is by this bridge that the *Via Flaminia* crosses the river.

Allobrogum limits **comitatus**.

cetera, i. e. the details.

militares, i. e. they knew their business.

præsidia; as Cicero says, Cat. III. 5, in two bodies, *ita ut Tiberis inter eos et pons interesset*.

id loci, § 216. *a* (3).

cito cognito consilio, *quickly seeing how things lay*. This is consistent with Cicero's statement, that the plan was concealed from all but the prætors. Long, however, who never loses an opportunity to disparage Cicero's testimony, would omit **cito**, because "if Sallust's narrative is true, they [the ambassadors] knew they were going to be stopped." But, although the ambassadors were playing the conspirators false, and knew that in some way the letters were to be got from them, it does not follow that they would be trusted with the details of the plan. Further, **cognito** does not seem the right word to use for a previous knowledge.

26. § 46. **at illum**, *but he was overwhelmed at once, &c.* — **conjuratone patefacta**, *by the disclosure of the conspiracy*.

porro autem, *but again*. — **tantia**, *of so high rank*.

sibi oneri, *a load for him to carry*. — **perdundæ**, etc. (*dat.*), *the ruin of the state* (§ 299).

vocari, *to be summoned*: the technical word for a magistrate's summons.

paulo ante, i. e. a little before the summons, so that he could hear the news.

Tarracinensem, *of Tarracina*, a town on the coast, about fifty miles south-east of Rome. It was an ancient Volscian town, and its name was originally *Anxur*.

in ædem concordia, between the Forum and the Capitoline : it was a not infrequent place for meetings of the Senate.

magna frequentia, *before a full house*.

§ 47. **ingere alia**, *began to make up a different story*.

fide publica, *under public pledge of safety*; he turned State's evidence.

paucis, *only a few*. — **socium adscitum**, *invited to join*. — **legatos**, § 336. *b. r.*

dissimulantem, *when he tried to conceal*. — **coarguunt**, *convict*. — **præter**, *in addition to*. — **sermonibus**, *conversation*.

ex libris Sibyllinis: the books bought of the Cumæan Sibyl by Tarquin the Proud, kept in charge of a special college of priests of high rank, the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, and consulted on occasions of great public emergency.

Cinnam atque Sullam. L. Cornelius Cinna succeeded to the

leadership of the democracy and the rule of Rome on the death of Marius; he was consul B.C. 87-84. L., Cornelius Sulla got control of the city two years later (B.C. 82).

incenso Capitolio: the *Capitolium*, or Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was burned in the Civil War, B.C. 83.

27. aruspices, not augurs, but Etruscan soothsayers, who prognosticated chiefly by consulting the entrails of the animals sacrificed.

signa sua; letters were tied with a thread (*linum*) and sealed.

abdicato magistratu: during his term of office a magistrate was practically exempt from judicial control. Lentulus was therefore compelled to abdicate his prætorship in order that he might be dealt with.

in liberis custodiis: no provision was made at Rome for imprisonment, except for malefactors in the horrible Mamertine prison (§ 55). Prisoners of rank were therefore confined in the houses of their acquaintances.

P. Spintheri, cos. B.C. 57, in which year he brought about Cicero's recall from exile.

ædilis: the ædiles — four in number, two curule and two plebeian — had charge of the police of the city, and especially of the public buildings and the superintendence of the games.

§ 48. **exsecrari**, histor. infin. — **gaudium** . . . **agitabat**, *expressed their satisfaction and delight*.

omnes copiæ, etc., *all their wealth consisted in* [what served for] *daily use and providing for their bodily wants*: the class which, in great cities, is the first victim of revolution, and the greatest sufferer by it.

proficiscentem, *just setting out*.

bonorum, *the better classes*; **hostium**, i. e. Catiline's force.

Lentulus, etc., **deprehensi**, *the arrest of Lentulus and the others*. — **reficeret**, *revive*.

potentia: not official power, but influence — perhaps illegal.

tanta vis hominis = *a man of so great power*.

Crasso obnoxii, *under obligations to Crassus*, i. e. in debt to him.

28. referatur, sc. **ad senatum**.

frequens senatus: a full Senate at this time must have counted over four hundred members, as the holding of any regular magistracy entitled to a seat in it for life.

decernit, *decides*: the common translation *decree* does not fully convey the meaning of this word, because the *decretum* of the Senate regularly included facts or resolves, as well as executive orders; while the English "decree" is usually of *something to be done*.

(Compare the resolution — *decretum* — at the close of Cicero's last Philippic, "Orations," p. 249).

potestatem, sc. **indicandi**, *opportunity of testifying*.

machinatum, *contrived*. — **quo . . . tegeret**, *that if Crassus were implicated in the charge (adpellato, summoned), his influence might more easily shield the others, through [his] sharing in [their] danger*.

immissum, *put up to it*. — **more suo**: Crassus was of a jealous and suspicious temper.

prædicantem, *making a loud talk*.

tantam contumeliam, *such an outrage*: this suspicion perhaps had something to do with Cicero's being left to the mercy of his enemies in the time of Crassus's political power, four years later.

§ 49. **C.** [Calpurnius] **Piso**, cos. B.C. 67: he was pro-consul of Narbonese Gaul, and was successfully defended by Cicero this same year on a charge of *repetundæ*. This story, implicating not only Piso, but Catulus, who is regarded as a man of the highest honor, in so mean a trick, can hardly rest upon any but hearsay evidence, and is likely to be a piece of Sallust's partisanship.

nam, etc.: their assumed motive for making the charge.

in iudicio, *at the time of the trial*. Cæsar made this attack upon him as *patronus* of those beyond the Po (*Transpadanæ*).

ex petitione pontificatus. The office of *pontifex maximus* had fallen vacant this year, and Catulus, as the leading member of the aristocracy, seemed to have an unquestioned claim to succession. But Cæsar, although a young man (of 37), only known for his dissolute manners and prominence as a popular leader, offered himself as candidate, and was elected. Catulus never got over this defeat.

The *pontifices*, a *collegium* of fifteen members, had the chief superintendence of the religious institutions of the State. The board filled its own vacancies, but the office of chief *pontifex* was determined by a popular vote fixing upon the one who was then to be formally elected by the board itself, like the election of English bishops by the chapter, where the government indicates the person to be elected. In reference to these elections, and the later deification of the emperors, Gibbon remarks that in the Roman state religion the same man might be "a priest, an atheist, and a god."

autem, *moreover*. — **publice . . . muneribus**, i. e. as *ædile*, the officer having charge of the public games and shows, the splendor of which he often increased at his own expense. This, in fact, came to be an unavoidable and enormous tax on popularity.

singulatim, *to individuals*. — **quæ . . . dicerent**, *which, as they said*. — **usque eo**, *to such a degree*.

equites Romani, young men of noble family, who served in the eighteen centuries of *equites*, receiving a horse from the state: it was at this time essentially a parade corps.

29. § 50. liberti, freedmen. A freed slave was *libertus* as regarded his former master (who now became his *patronus*), and *libertinus* as regarded others. **Lentuli** must therefore limit **liberti** as well as **clientibus**: the clients were his free-born followers.

in vicis, in the streets; or, more correctly, the *wards* or *districts* centring about the several principal streets.

duces multitudinum, mob-leaders: petty politicians, leaders of the populace in the several localities.

per nuntios orabat: it would seem from this that the *libera custodia* was "free" enough to allow a prisoner correspondence with his friend with a view to a rescue. It was, however, rigid enough to keep him in durance, under the immediate peril of execution.

familiam, household of slaves.

monebat, suggested. — **convocato senatu**; this was Dec. 5.

contra rem publicam, "against the peace and dignity of the commonwealth."

primus sententiam rogatus: the consuls elect were called upon first, if there were any; if not, the *princeps senatus*, or one who was recognized as holding the first rank: then, in succession, the consular, prætorian and other senators.

decreverat: the pluperfect is a common device to subordinate the necessary details to the main point, — here, Cæsar's speech.

pedibus iturum (sc. **in sententiam**), *would vote*, i. e. on a division. The vote was taken by going on one side or the other of the hall (*discessio*). A class of Senators, who had a vote, but no right to speak, were called *pedarii*.

TL [Claudii] Neronis, grandfather of the emperor Tiberius. Nero's proposition was to put off the decision until further measures for security should have been taken (*præsidiis additis*). This is not inconsistent with Cicero's referring only to the propositions of Silanus and Cæsar (Cat. IV. 7); for Nero's notion had nothing to do with the merits of the question, but only with the time of action, so that Silanus agreed to it.

Cæsar: as *prætor designatus*, he spoke after the consulars and before the prætorians. It is a misfortune that Sallust's vanity led him to compose — in the fashion of ancient historians — this artificial speech, instead of preserving some of the notices which were probably extant, of what was really said. Cæsar could hardly have uttered the stale commonplaces — exactly in the style of Sallust, who is nothing if not general — with which this rhetorical exercise begins. But the sentiments and the temper are doubtless Cæsar's own, and the argument is substantially as Cicero reports it.

§ 51. ¶ 1. patres conscripti: the *patres*, as has been said (see note, p. 48) were the patrician senators; the *conscripti* were

plebeians who were "enrolled" in the Senate on the establishment of the republic, to fill vacancies. Consistently with the Latin practice of omitting the *et* in such combinations, *patres et conscripti* became in practice the "conscript fathers" of literature.

lubidini, passion; *usui*, advantage. — *paruit*, § 279. *c.*

intenderis (§ 281), *keep on the stretch.*

magna, etc., *I have a great deal to tell* (§ 311. *c.*) = *I could tell, &c., but.* — *male consuluerint*, *have taken bad counsel.*

bello Macedonico, i. e. the Third, in which the independence of Macedonia was overthrown. The Rhodians, who had given Rome effective aid in earlier wars, and been rewarded by liberal grants of territory (*populi Romani opibus creverat*), held themselves aloof from this (*infida atque advorsa fuit*). For this no direct punishment was inflicted, although the grants of territory were taken back. — *magna atque magnifica*. Rhodes was at this time the first maritime power in the world.

30. bellis Punicis: the three wars with Carthage, the third of which resulted in the destruction of Carthage (B.C. 146). The Romans always indulged in a complacent sense of honor and fairness in respect to their dealings with Carthage, which contrasts oddly with the facts.

cum, *though.* — *per occasionem*, *taking advantage of opportunity.*

¶ 2. *neu*, *and that . . . not.* — *iræ consulatis*, *seek to gratify your wrath rather than take care of your reputation* (strictly, take counsel for the advantage of).

novom consilium: the punishment of death was new in the sense that the laws forbade its infliction upon a citizen except by a vote of the people: it was therefore strictly out of the province of the Senate.

omnium ingenia, *any man's power* (to devise a fitting punishment). — *utendum* (§ 295. *R.*), impersonal, governing *eis*. (The gerundive is a very common construction with *censeo* in the sense of *advise* or *vote*: compare end of § 51.)

¶ 3. *composite*, *in good set terms.* — *magnifice*, *and in lofty style.* — *miserati sunt*, *have deplored.*

rapi . . . compleri: these infinitives are in apposition with *quæ . . . acciderent*, "the things which happen to the defeated," depending on *enumeravere*.

quo, *to what purpose.* — *scilicet*, *to be sure* (ironical). — *quo . . . pertinuit*, *what did that argument mean?*

¶ 4. *alia aliis licentia*, *different degrees of allowance to different persons.*

si quid (adv. acc.), *if in any respect.* — *pauci sciunt*, *hardly anybody knows of it.* — *fama*, etc., i. e. their fame is no greater than their fortune.

minuma, *least of all*. — **minores quam**, *too small for*.
postrema meminere, *keep in mind only the last things that happened*. — **in**, *in the case of*.

¶ 5. **certo scio**, *I am well assured*. — **illum**, subj. of **exercere** : *to practise* (a passion), therefore act under its influence.

eos . . . cognovi (§ 195. *d*), *I know this to be the character and moderation of the man*.

verum opposes the whole, including **aliena**, to the preceding.

sed, opposed to the concession in **non crudelis**.

31. aliena a re publica, *against the public interest*.

aut metus aut injuria, i. e. fear of future wrong, or desire of punishing the present wrong.

decernere, simply, *to give your voice for*.

tanta præsidia : see Cicero's orations against Catiline, especially the beginning of the first, for the measures of precaution that he took. — **in armis**, *under arms*.

possum, *I could*; **equidem**, *to be sure*; **id quod**, etc., *what is the fact*.

mortem ærumnarum requiem, *that death is rest from sorrows* : said here in accordance with Cæsar's Epicurean creed.

lex Porcia, about B.C. 200 : "*virgas ab omnium civium Romanorum corpore amovit ; libertatem civium lictori eripuit*" (Cic. pro Rabir. ch. 4).

at aliæ leges, etc. : i. e. if scourging is forbidden (by the Porcian law), much more is it forbidden, by several laws, to put them to death. The whole subject is very obscure, and the precise import of these laws is not known. To all intents and purposes, in the later republic, the punishment of death for Roman citizens was out of use, since, as is here stated, the condemned criminal was allowed to go away and become an alien from his country. But exile from Rome was even worse to a Roman than exile from Paris is to a Frenchman.

in homines, i. e. *inflicted on*.

qui (adv.) **convenit**, *what consistency is there ?*

at enim, *but, you say*.

¶ 6. **tempus, dies**, etc. : *occasion, time, fortune, whose pleasure controls* [the affairs of] *nations* (will take vengeance on us, if we violate right in this matter).

vos (emph.), i. e. *for your own sakes*.

omnia male exempla, etc. Certainly, whether Cæsar was in sympathy with the conspirators or not, he could not have said a truer thing than these ominous words, let them be his own clear foresight, or Sallust's cheap moralizing after the fact. The most dangerous violations of law are by those who give their act the sanction of a high example.

devictis Atheniensibus ; by the battle of Ægospotami, B.C. 404, which ended the Peloponnesian War, and transferred the hegemony, or political leadership, of Greece, from Athens to Sparta. The Spartans now established at Athens a committee of thirty, to administer the government : who, from their unjust and oppressive rule, are known as the Thirty Tyrants.

lubidinosæ, at their pleasure (see the defence of Theramenes, Xenophon, Hellen. ii. 3).

pœnas dedit, see note, § 22.

Damasippum : a name belonging to the Licinian *gens*, but given (apparently) to L. Junius Brutus, one of the leaders of the popular or Marian party in the Civil War. Damasippus was prætor, B.C. 82, and when Sulla gained the victory which practically decided the contest, it was he who, before evacuating the city, ordered the massacre of the leaders of the opposition. He was shortly afterwards captured by Sulla and executed, in company with three or four thousand others. — **creverant, had flourished.**

magnæ cladis, the horrible proscriptions of Sulla.

32. trahebantur, were dragged off (for slaughter).

alio consule, under another consul, (§§ 254, 255. a).

exercitus in manu, an army ready for use : pointing insidiously at the forces Cicero had armed to keep the peace. Nothing would more rouse jealousy than the hint of an army within the walls.

illi, i. e. that other : Pompey, or Cæsar ?

¶ 7. **quo minus imitarentur, to prevent their imitating** (§ 317. b).

ab Samnitibus . . . ab Tuscis : how much this amounted to, cannot be determined. Probably the Romans borrowed at least some of the externals of state from Etruria, but it is not certain that much of importance was taken from this source.

Græciæ morem imitati : this cannot be true, for our very earliest accounts of Rome recognize the punishment of death and scourging ; while Grecian law and custom were mild by comparison.

ea bene parta, that well-earned greatness.

¶ 8. **ita censeo** : compare Cicero's statement of Cæsar's views, Cat. IV. ch. 4.

contra, etc., against the peace and safety of the commonwealth.

cum populo agat : the regular expression for the transaction of business in an assembly of the people.

§ 52. **verbo adsentiebantur** : the expression used for the delivery of the *sententia* by the several senators as called upon — an informal vote.

alius alii (dat.), i. e. some to one point and some to another.

varie : indicating that the decision was for a long time doubtful,

as senators changed their votes. Cicero's fourth oration appears to have been delivered in this interval of suspense, and afterwards Cato's speech decided the question.

§ 52. **M. Porcius Cato**: he was great-grandson of Cato the censor, a vehement partisan of the Senate, a thoroughly honest man, but narrow-minded, obstinate, and impracticable. He was a leader in the Civil War, and killed himself at Utica—hence his name *Uticensis*—after Cæsar's crowning victory of Thapsus (B.C. 46).

habuit, delivered (the regular word).

¶ 1. **disseruisse, to have been discussing**—calmly, as in a philosophical discourse.

patriæ, dat. of indir. obj. — **cavere**, § 271. a; 331. a.

33. frustra, etc., in vain will you then seek a remedy in justice.

persequare, one may prosecute (§ 266. a).

vos . . . fecistis: an appeal to the better classes who neglected their duties to the state, such as might not be out of place at the present day. — **pluris, at a higher rate** (§ 252. a).

cujuscumque modi (= **cuicuiusmodi**, § 105. b), of whatever sort.

aliquando, at length (with impatience).

de vectigalibus, etc., an allusion to the war against Mithridates, which Pompey had just concluded: see Cicero's oration for the Manilian Law.

anima, breath of life. — **in dubio, in jeopardy**.

sæpenumero, oftentimes.

¶ 2. **in hoc ordine, in this body**. An *ordo* was a class having distinct interests of its own; especially the Senate.

qui . . . condonabam, an assertion of Cato's well-known Stoic principle, in contrast with the easy Epicureanism of Cæsar: *I [a man] who never, in act (mihi) or in thought (animo) had given myself indulgence for any fault, did not easily pardon evil deeds to another man's self-will*.

opulencia, etc., i. e. the strength of the state was like a rich man's fortune, which will endure careless spending.

non id agitur, this is not the question. — **nostra, ours** (pred.).

nobiscum una hostium, along with ourselves, the property of the enemy.

hic mihi nominat, in such a case is there a man who talks to me about. — **eo, by this means**.

jampridem, etc., but in fact we have long, &c.

sane, if you will.

in furiis ærari, i. e. to the "treasury ring." — **ne, by all means** (bitter irony).

perditum, to ruin.

¶ 3. *de inferis*, about the lower world. There was, as here expressed, a vague belief among the Romans in a future life with rewards and punishments in a sort of vast cavern underground (see Virgil's *Æneid*, book vi., partly imitated from Homer, *Odyssey*, book xi.).

a multitudine conducta, by a hired mob.

quasi vero, just as if! a very strong and effective argument.

34. *plus possit*, has the greater power.

jam, at once.

¶ 4. *pulcherrumam*, in its greatest glory: i. e. while in fact it is degenerate, and in evil case.

nos haberemus, i. e. our generation, which has every advantage over theirs.

quæ nobis nulla sunt, of which we have none. — *obnoxius*, enslaved to.

publice egestatem: not that the state had not resources enough, but the public interests were neglected and plundered, while individuals made a great display of wealth (*privatim opulentiam*).

impetus, a raid, i. e. for plunder.

¶ 5. *incendere*, § 271. a. — *supra caput*, above our heads, like a rock ready to fall. — *hostibus*, abl. (§ 244. d).

quid faciatis, what you shall do (§ 334. b).

ne, you may be sure.

scilicet, no doubt; *immo*, on the contrary; *videlicet*, I suppose.

non votis, etc.: "the gods help those who help themselves."

bello Gallico: according to other authorities, it was in the Latin war, B.C. 340. Sallust has confused it with the Gallic war, twenty one years before, in which Manlius received his surname *Torquatus*.

35. *videlicet* (ironical), forsooth. — *verum*, in truth.

iterum, now for the second time: an intimation that Cethegus was implicated in the first conspiracy.

quibus si . . . pensi fuisset, if they had even had any regard for any thing.

si peccato locus esset, if there were room for error: but the ground we stand on is too narrow.

faucibus: Cicero (*Cat.* II. § 2) represents Catiline, by the same phrase, under the figure of a wild beast kept at bay.

¶ 6. *cum . . . paravisse*, the preamble; *de . . . sumundum*, the resolution.

more majorum, by ancient precedent.

§ 53. *forte . . . adtendere*, i. e. I happen to have been interested in observing.

legionibus hostium: a general but incorrect military expression, as the legion was a purely Roman institution, like the *turma* of cavalry.

gloria belli: this refers not to any special achievements of the Gauls, but to the constant terror they inspired among the more civilized nations of the south.

constabat, *it became clear*.

36. paupertas, paucitas, i. e. a people poor in resources and feeble in numbers.

res publica, *politics or public business*.

vitia sustentabat, *fed the faults*.—**obtulerat**, *threw in my way*.

§ 54. **nihil largiundo**, *by never bribing*.

bellum novom, *a new style of war*, as in Gaul, Britain and Germany.

constantia, *firmness*.

esse quam videri bonus malebat, a celebrated and formal maxim of Greek morality, as old at least as Æschylus (Seven against Thebes).

§ 55. **discessit**, i. e. in a division. — **eo spatio**, *in the interval*.

nequid novaretur, *that no new attempt should be made*.

tres viros, sc. **capitales**, *the executioners*; some eds. omit **ad**.

in carcerem, the *Carcer Mamertinus*, ascribed to King Ancus Marcius (Liv. i. 33), was between the Forum and the Capitoline, east of the Temple of Concord. The subterranean dungeon, *Tullianum*, ascribed to Servius Tullius, was probably originally a well-room (*tullius* was an old word for *rivus*). These chambers are now exhibited in Rome. The *Tullianum*, where there is still a spring of cold clear water, slightly brackish, was formerly entered only by a narrow round aperture in the stone vault which covers it (*camera lapideis fornicibus juncta*).

37. Tullianum: it is said that even in the Provinces, the vilest cell of the dungeon, built for the punishment of traitors, was called by this name of horror.

humi (loc.), *underground*. — **camera**, the low arched roof, or vault, rising not much more than a foot (in a span of perhaps twenty feet) to a height of not quite seven feet.

demissus, *thrust down* through the opening above.

laqueo gulam fregere, *broke the windpipe with a noose*, i. e. *strangled him*.

§ 56. **duas legiones**: this was the regular force of a consul, and Cataline evidently wished to give a show of legitimacy to his enterprise.

pro, *in proportion to*.

cohortis, etc., i. e. the legions were only skeleton ones, with the full numbers of ten cohorts each, but the cohorts were incomplete, so that the legions did not reach the regular number of six thousand men.

voluntarius, *volunteer*, enlisting from the neighborhood; **ex sociis**, *from his accomplices* in Rome.

militaribus armis, *arms of regular soldiers*: these were a brass helmet (*cassis*), a shield (*scutum*), cuirass (*lorica*), and greaves (*ocreae*), the short two-edged Spanish sword (*gladius*), and short heavy javelin, (*pilum*).

ad urbem, *towards the city*. — **in Galliam vorsus**, *in the direction of Gaul*: **vorsus** is generally used thus adverbially, with a preposition.

prope diem, *at no distant day*.

cujus, sc. **generis**: his rejection of these was another evidence of his desire to appear as the champion of the Roman people.

§ 57. **conjuratiōem . . . sumptum**: these accusatives depend on the verb of *telling* contained in **nuntius pervenit**.

38. **in agrum Pistoriensem**: Pistoria, a small town of Etruria, lay about fifteen miles north west of Fæsulæ, by an easy road: here is one of the best passes over the Apennines into northern Italy. The expression *per montis*, here and in the last chapter, shows that Catiline had moved to some distance from the original camp of Manlius.

præsidebat, *held command*.

ex difficultate, to be construed with **existumans**: he formed his judgment from a knowledge of the straits in which Catiline must be.

radicibus, *foot*. — **illi**, etc., *he must descend*. — **utpote qui** § 320. *e.*

§ 58. ¶ 1. **compertum habeo**, § 292. *c.* — **ex ignavo**, *from being cowardly*. — **patere**, *appear*. — **hortere**, *you would exhort* (§ 307. *b*): the condition is contained in **quem . . . excitant**. **quo**, *to the end that*.

¶ 2. **cladem**, *disaster*. — **juxta mecum**, *as well as I do*. — **maxume**, *ever so much*. — **si vincimus**, § 276. *c.*

39. **supervacaneum**, *a thing of no interest*.

¶ 3. **adgredimini** (*imperat.*), *advance the more boldly*. — **licuit** (§ 311. *c*), *you might have, &c.*; **potuistis nonnulli**, etc., *some of you, having lost your fortunes at Rome, might have waited for other men's wealth*. — **hæc**, i. e. my standard.

cum . . . avorteris, a roundabout way of saying, *if you turn your back*.

¶ 4. **necessitudo**, *necessity*; perhaps including also the idea, that their fortunes were bound up together. — **cavete amittatis**, § 269. *a*; 331. *f*, *R*.

§ 59. **signa canere**: **signa** is subject. The signal was given with the *tuba*, a long straight horn with a harsh sound:

Tuba terribilem sonitum procul ære canoro Increpuit. — *Virg. Æn. ix. 503.*

instructos ordines: the *acies*, or army in line of battle, of this period consisted of either two or three lines of cohorts, each cohort counting sixty men in front, and ten deep. This was the Roman system, equally removed from the unwieldy phalanx of the Greeks, and the extreme thinness of the English line.

remotis equis, compare Cæsar, B.G. i. 25. — **pedes** (§ 88. c). *on foot*. — **sinistros**, *on his left*.

reliquarum signa, twelve in number. The cohort was formed of three maniples, and each maniple had its *signum* (a staff with some figure or badge at the end) or *vexillum* (a flag, attached by its upper edge to a cross-piece at the end of the staff). The cohort appears to have had no standard, probably because it existed as a regular organization only after the time of Marius, before whom the maniple was the sole division of the legion. The standard of the legion, established by Marius, was a silver eagle.

centuriones: two centurions commanded each maniple. — **omnia lectos**, *all picked men*.

evocatos: these were veterans, who had served out their time, but were induced to volunteer by the offer of special privileges and emoluments.

bello Cimbrico (B.C. 101), when Marius and Catulus defeated the Cimbri near Vercellæ.

40. latrones, *bandits*: insurrection, among the Romans, was ordinarily spoken of as *latrocinium*, "brigandage."

cernere, *were contending*.

amplius, § 247. c.

tribunus: six tribunes (two at a time) commanded the legion with equal and undivided power; after the time of Julius Cæsar a *legatus* was placed over these.

præfectus, a general term for one appointed to a special command; particularly of the auxiliaries or the fleet.

legatus, *staff-officer or aid*. All these held subordinate commands, under the *imperium* of the commander in chief; the prætor had the *imperium* in virtue of his office, and was therefore the commander in chief of the army.

§ 60. **ferentariis**, *skirmishers*, armed with sword and spear, and light defensive armor. — **omittunt**, *drop*.

pila . . . geritur. The Roman mode of attack was, first to hurl the *pilum* (*eminus pugnare*), and then rush upon the enemy with the sword (*cominus pugnare*); precisely analogous to a modern volley of musketry followed by a bayonet charge.

illi, *the others*. — **pro**, *in place of*.

contra ac ratus erat, *contrary to his expectation*.

cohortem prætoriam, *prætorian cohort*, a picked body of men,

partly *evocati* (see note, § 59), partly young men of noble family, which served as body guard to the commander.

alis alibi, in various places: **alis** is an old form for **alius** (Gr. p. 38, note); for the plural verb see § 205. c.

§ 61. **cerneres**, § 311. a. — **quem . . locum . . eum** (§ 200. b, N.), each man covered with his body, when his breath was spent, the same spot which he had taken fighting when alive (**vivōs**, nom.).

41. advorsis vulneribus, with wounds in front.

etiam (et jam), still.

civis ingenuus, free born citizen of Rome. — **juxta**, alike, i. e. not at all.

hospitem, a guest-friend; **hospitium** was a close relation of friendship and mutual aid between citizens of different states.

lætitia, etc. : the first pair denote outward expression, the second (in chiasmic order) inward feeling, *rejoicing and mourning, joy and sadness*.

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